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LIVES

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI,

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA,

AND

MARQUIS OF POMBAL,

THREE DISTINGUISHED POLITICAL ADVENTURERS

Of the last Century.

EXHIBITING

A VIEW OF THE KINGDOMS

OF

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

DURING

A considerable Portion of that Period.

37138

By GEORGE MOORE, Esq.

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PREFACE.

I HERE present the Public with the Lives of two extraordinary men;—extraordinary they certainly were, though not useful, nor even great. The first particularly, from the most obscure origin, rose to the command of a monarchy where uncontrolled power and unlimited magnificence reside upon the throne, and where the opinion that favours noble birth prevails with the greatest rankness. Such indeed is one of the marks of a despotic government. There is no security for the fruits of fair, honourable industry; no protection for the rights of any part of the community; but nowhere does the ferment of bold intrigue and presumptuous ambition extend wider, or work with more violent agitation.

The glare which scorches vegetation, and flings barrenness abroad, exalts mud and ordure into life, expands the reptile into the mounting insect of the day, gives him wings to fly, invests him with a gaudy coat, till, in his turn, he sinks beneath that glory from which he derived his existence.

That state, on the contrary, where the progress from obscurity is slow and laborious,—where the imagination is not amused with the vicissitudes of sudden rises and sudden falls,—where the subordination of ranks is most strictly preserved, is like those regions which, enjoying a mild sky and temperate suns, exhibit the refreshing spectacle of greenness and fertility, but can boast neither of the magnificence of storms nor the splendour of meteors.

I shall just notice some of the books from which I collected the history which follows.

I received from Spain a translation of a Life of Ripperda which appeared in Holland, plentifully interspersed with notes, tending to correct the errors of the original. The translator seems to be a man of good judgment and industrious research. The name of Mr. le M[illegible] to the [illegible] is, I am informed, fictitious. [illegible]

Don Salvador Maner, which is to be found in the privilege prefixed. Why he made use of a fictitious name, when his real one meets the eye a page or two after, I have not been able to discover; but under one or the other, I believe he is equally a stranger to the English reader. For this reason, when I have occasion to refer to him in the course of the work, I mention him generally as the Spanish author.

I am indebted to him for several curious particulars; and I have availed myself of many of his corrections in the original Life of Ripperda.

I have however preferred the original to part of his narrative of Ripperda's African transactions.

His supposition, that Ripperda went to Barbary merely for the purpose of security and retirement, is nowise probable.

Lord Harrington's correspondence attests the smarting resentment with which he was agitated at his fall.

The constant warfare carried on by the States of Barbary against Spain, points out that views of revenge carried him thither. This is perfectly agreeable to the rest of his character.

He could not accomplish any of these views without renouncing his religion. That he did so, was the prevailing opinion at the time. The edict of the King of Spain, taking away his dignities and titles, speaks of his "crimen tan feo," which may be supposed to refer to something more than merely his residing in Barbary.

We shall not be disposed to think, with the Spanish author, that a man who had twice renounced his religion, would sacrifice ambition, which had been the passion of his life, and the thirst of vengeance, to his religious scruples, at least, whilst his health was tolerably good, and death seemed at a distance.

There is an evident disposition in the Spanish author to soften Ripperda's conduct as much as possible to the Spanish nation, with much too favourable an opinion of the general complexion of his character.

Though, however, I have preferred the original Life in these two circumstances,—the views which carried him to Barbary and the religion he professed there; I have followed the translator in other particulars.

Lord Harrington's cor[redacted]

a part of the very curious and valuable correspondence published by Mr. Coxe, and l'Abbé Montgon's Mémoires, furnish as good materials as could be desired for the history of Ripperda's ministry.

Gibbon, in the journal of his readings, gives a character of Montgon's Mémoires. They are, as he says, prolix and tedious enough in all conscience: but he happened to be at Madrid during the time of Ripperda's power, on a secret political mission in the service of the Duke of Bourbon, and had good opportunities of knowing the whole truth. This mission was not very pleasing to Cardinal Fleury, who disappointed all his ambitious speculations, and reduced him to the necessity of abandoning France. The pains he takes to disguise his ambitious speculations are curious. The motive he assigns for the undertaking his Spanish journey, to edify himself by contemplating King Philip in his retirement of St. Ildephonso, coupled with the circumstance, that in reality he did not set out till after he knew Philip had re-ascended the throne, exposes him to the derision of the reader.

The Spanish author has supplied me, too, with

some circumstances relating to the early part of Alberoni's residence in Spain. The Mémoires of the Duke de St. Simon and of Duclos frequently speak of him. The latter appear to me written with more of solid sense and sober judgment than are commonly met with in French authors.

The Mémoires of the Marquis de St. Philippe contain the bulky facts in Alberoni's public transactions, heavily delivered, and with little critical discernment, but with much appearance of patient and accurate investigation.

In relating the plot or conspiracy of Cellamare, the Mémoires of Mademoiselle Launay, afterwards Madame de Staël, assisted me. They are lively and entertaining. She was in the service of the Duchess de Maine, and entrusted with her secrets. A certain Chevalier, Menil, who was confined with her in the Bastile, and amused himself during the confinement in writing sentimental letters to her, for whom she conceived a violent passion, to which he made no return after he got his liberty, and of whom she speaks incessantly, appears indeed to have been an insipid kind of a personage. The good woman was certainly unreasonable to expect any one should fall in love

with her, according to the description she gives of herself;—*maigre, sèche, et désagréable.* Yet her head was full of the passions she kindled, and the gallantries she inspired.

For the particulars I have assembled relative to the States of Barbary, I am obliged to a variety of publications. Mr. Lemprière's late Travels to Morocco are judicious and well written. Commodore Stewart and Captain Braithwaite visited this Empire not long before the period of my history. I have consulted the narratives of their journeys both for men and manners. The latter may be supposed to have undergone some change from lapse of time. We are well informed of the state of Morocco; but our accounts of Algiers are meagre indeed. What I have said concerning it, I gleaned with much pains from a number of books. But Mr. Falcon, lately British consul there, was so good as to revise my statement, and add to my information. Tempted by the novelty and curiosity of the subject, I had entered into a good deal of detail: but an intimate and most enlightened friend, whose absence at this time, in a distant part of the globe, I have to lament, suggesting to me the slender connection it had with

my subject, I pressed the matter I had collected into the general view now published.

I take no notice of a book entitled, "Testament politique du Cardinal Alberoni." It is very common, but no doubt a fabrication, and a poor one.* I should have wished to have seen a Life published at Placentia soon after his death; but I could not meet with it.

I may be blamed for referring, in a history of past times, to recent events and the present circumstances of my country. But what is a history of past times, except in the light of these gigantic and tremendous events? a mere fairy tale! They have changed the whole aspect of human affairs. They press hourly on our feelings, on our dearest interests! My pen was conducted to them by an involuntary impulse. If this shall not be deemed an excuse, let it be regarded only as the exposition of a fact.

* It is the work of a hungry French writer, of the name of Maubert, who was afterwards employed in writing the *Brussels Gazette*, which gave such offence to all true-born Englishmen, and is mentioned in several of our patriotic songs.

To this new Edition of the Lives of Cardinal Alberoni and the Duke de Ripperda, I have added the Life of the Marquis of Pombal, the celebrated Portuguese minister, and have comprehended all three under a general title, on which I shall say a few words before I conclude these prefatory remarks.

The name of Pombal has already felt the effects of the progress of time. It has given way to other names. More recent actors on the great stage of the world occupy the public attention. There are persons, however, still living, who remember the lively interest which he once created, the various passions which he once excited. Confined, by the rank which his country held in the scale of nations, to a circumscribed sphere of action, he notwithstanding connected himself with events of great and universal importance.

The order of the Jesuits must still be remembered with passions of different kinds by different classes of readers. The very name was long an object of abhorrence to the generality of persons in this country and in all parts of Protestant Europe.

By them Pombal, as one of the first movers in the destruction of this monastic fraternity, will be regarded as a benefactor to mankind, and the name of *adventurer* may be thought invidiously and improperly applied to him.

Adventurer, in the sense in which I use it, is not intended to convey any kind of reproach, not even to denote a meanness of origin. Ripperda and Pombal were both gentlemen by birth and education; and, though their elevation may have exceeded their early expectations, cannot be surveyed with any emotions of wonder. The application, however, of the name to the former, will, I imagine, be hardly disputed; and whoever attentively considers the character of public life, and the kind of atchievements which distinguish the latter, will think it not unaptly bestowed upon him. He had all that restless activity, that love of changes and reforms, that eagerness for measures which strike

the multitude, which I suppose particularly to belong to that race of men whom I call *adventurers.*

It is in this sense of the word that I apprehend Montesquieu has said, in a posthumous work, "Ce sont toujours les *aventuriers* qui font de grandes choses, et non pas les souverains des grands empires," without any reference to the greater or less good resulting from these "grandes choses."

There are many in Catholic countries, and perhaps some even in England, who contemplate the order of the Jesuits with sentiments different from what I have adverted to. They have been led to think their destruction as a great rent in the religious texture of European society, as the first step in a mighty and disastrous scheme of subversion, which has unsettled the harmony and repose of nations. These may except to the name *adventurer*, as not grave and emphatic enough for the author of so great a mischief. To them likewise is my explanation addressed, and I hope it will satisfy them.

Whatever may be the thought of the Jesuits, their principal enemy, and first impelling cause of their destruction, cannot, even at this day, be regarded with indifference.

In a narrative of his life, a sketch of their history will not, I presume, be deemed an impertinent digression. It is certainly interesting, as connected with the history of manners and opinions in our European world for the last two centuries, of which we have lived to witness the wonderful winding up. Authors, such as our Robertson, who have entered into considerable details respecting the institution, have not touched upon the subject of their history, and this may be deemed a thing wanting in our language. The present narrative, which is merely a digression, cannot aspire beyond the name of a very confined abridgment, yet I believe it will be found to include every important fact. It will not be charg d, it is hoped, with any deficiency of fairness or candour. Perhaps it will not satisfy the few enthusiastic admirers who have survived the Jesuits; less will it please those who have accustomed themselves to echo charges without evidence, and repeat abusive epithets without much inquiry whether they were deserved. An error in Robertson is pointed out, which he derived from the representations of foreign writers. On the whole, this attempt, for it is nothing more, may have disclosed particulars not known to the gene-

rality of English readers, and will be received as an imperfect substitute for a regular history.

With respect to the transactions in the life of Pombal, on which there hangs much mystery and obscurity, the Author does not flatter himself his work will produce entire light; but what information he could gather he has delivered fairly and impartially. Some particulars he has added to what was before the Public from sources of the highest character. He must particularly acknowledge his obligations to his friend and neighbour the late Marquis of Sligo, who, during his residence in Lisbon, made much and various inquiry. Without his communications, the present work would have been indeed very imperfect. For the opinions delivered in the course of it, either upon particular circumstances or upon the character in general, the Author must declare they are entirely his own. There he has consulted only his own mind, his own train of reflections. The opinions of Baretti are occasionally referred to, not from any high value set upon their general character, but merely from the particular circumstance that he is the only traveller I am acquainted with, who has given

an account of Portugal as it struck the observer during the government of Pombal. The opinions, such as they are, were written on the spot, not long after the events to which they are applied.

THE

LIFE

OF

CARDINAL ALBERONI.

JULIUS ALBERONI was born in an obscure dwelling, at one of the extremities of the city of Placentia, March 30, 1664.

His parents were in the meanest circumstances; his father earned his livelihood as a gardener.

The opinion of a ruling passion, which, according to our elegant moral poet, discovers itself in the first unfoldings of the mind, and gathers strength through all the changes of life, never received so forcible an illustration as in the instance before us.

From his earliest childhood, Alberoni had one object perpetually in view. In the pursuit of this no difficulties discouraged him, no affronts or indignities repulsed him; nothing so mean to which he would not stoop; no experiment so unpromising, which he was not prepared to try.

He first engaged the notice of a parish-priest, as a forward officious boy.—This priest took him into his service, taught him to read and write, and the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

He next received instruction from some Barnabite Friars, who were pleased with an air of quickness and docility about him.

His attention to ingratiate himself with his protectors had so good an effect, that he was appointed ringer of bells to the cathedral.

Here he came under the observation of the Canons, who, seeing him busy every where, and studious to recommend himself to every one, testified to him some degree of good-will. The wily youth was not without distinguishing eyes. He discovered those who possessed the ear of the Bishop, and took care to be most assiduous about them.

He determined to become an ecclesiastic, and by the influence of the persons who befriended him, was admitted to the minor orders. He received the tonsure, that is, had the form of a crown shaved upon his head; which denotes a person set apart for ecclesiastical functions.

His next step was to receive the order of priesthood;—but here he found some difficulty.

Where a life of idleness invites so many to become Priests, Bishops are not willing to ordain those who are likely to become a burthen to the church. This likelihood strongly attached to

Alberoni. However, he found means to overcome the objection ; and a priest he was ordained.

Being now an ecclesiastic in due form, he went to seek his fortune. He quitted the place of his nativity, and repaired to Ravenna.

Ravenna, once a flourishing city, was at this time in deplorable circumstances of decline. Subject to the Popes, it showed the influence of its ecclesiastical government in the gloom and melancholy which overspread it. A great part of its population consisted of Monks and Friars. A sauntering laziness was the general characteristic of its inhabitants. The cheerful sounds of industry or pleasure were never heard within its walls.

The vice-legate, Monsignor Barni, was in consequence much oppressed with languor and listlessness. He was looking about for relief when Alberoni arrived. No one excelled him in vivacity and buffoonery, and seemed intended by nature for what Monsignor Barni wanted.

He became a constant guest at his table, and was thought the most droll and diverting of men.

To recompense him, Monsignor Barni appointed him a sort of steward or superintendant in his household.

Barni was soon after made Bishop of Placentia, and was accompanied by Alberoni ; who found, in the gossip of his native city, new means of entertaining his patron.

Barni discovering, I suppose, his household affairs not very well managed, relieved himself, by giving his steward the first vacant stall in his cathedral. Having occasion soon after for a preceptor for his nephew l'Abbé Barni, he thought of no one but his steward metamorphosed into a Canon.

Alberoni set out with his pupil for Rome.—If the young gentleman did not make much proficiency in classical or ecclesiastical knowledge, he was better amused. He found in his preceptor a ready and dexterous go-between with those kind beauties, who at Rome, as well as in other places, are not inexorable to the addresses of the young and rich.*

Alberoni might now consider his circumstances as sufficiently flourishing. But fortune had not yet disclosed the miracles she had in store for him.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the dawn of his greatness. A war had broken out, which involved the greatest part of Europe. The contending potentates made the first trial of their strength on the banks of the Po;—the Duke de Vendome commanded the army of France.

* I originally collected these particulars of the early life of Alberoni from an anonymous history, which I suppose is of little authority; but I have found them since, for the most part, confirmed by the Spanish and [illegible] I mention in my preface.

The singularities of this man were the means appointed to raise Alberoni.

Vendome affected, in his manners and deportment, a cynical contempt for the forms and decencies of life. His person exhibited a disgusting filthiness. His equals he treated with brutality. He submitted to little restraint even with his superiors. His birth, his rank, his reputation for a daring and enterprising captain, seemed to authorise this extraordinary conduct, and were allowed to excuse it.

On his arrival in Italy, he had to treat with the petty princes, whose territories were exposed to the inroads of the hostile armies. All would have wished to have been respected as neutral; but in the collision of the powerful, the feeble who are in the neighbourhood of the shock, must expect to suffer.

One of the principal sufferers at this time, was Francis Duke of Parma. After having seen his states plundered without mercy by the Imperialists, and having in vain invoked the thunders of the Vatican, professing himself a vassal of the Popes;* he had reason to apprehend treatment not more sparing from the progress of the French armies. He resolved therefore to send a deputation to Vendome, the commander-in-chief.

The person chosen for this deputation, was a Count Roncovieri, Bishop of St. Donnino, a small

* See hereafter.

town between Parma and Placentia. Alberoni, who filled nearly the same situation about his person, that he had done about that of Monsignor Barni—the situation of a diverting companion, was his attendant on the occasion.

When these reverend deputies were announced to Vendome, he happened to be performing a ceremony, the gravity of history finds it difficult to express.* He was not a man to be disturbed by the entrance of such deputies. Without therefore changing his position, he ordered them to be admitted.

Roncovieri, a nobleman and a bishop, affronted at this strange reception, precipitately withdrew; but Alberoni remained, witnessed the whole process with much good-humour, and finally broke out into a sally of buffoon adulation, exactly calculated to please the Duke.

The Duke was indeed so pleased, that he would not allow him to return to the court of Parma, but kept him with him to season his nocturnal revels with that gross pleasantry in which he delighted.

Alberoni saw the moment of his fortune arrived; and determined to improve it.†

* He was actually on his close-stool. At the conclusion he exhibited himself in a way, which produced the burlesque exclamation of Alberoni, "Ah culo di Angelo!"

† Another account is, that his introduction to Vendome was by means of a poet of the name of Capriston, with whom he had accidentally formed an acquaintance. I have followed the narrative of the Duke de St. Simon and Duclos.

The Duke had a voracious appetite for flattery. This he plentifully supplied. With the topics of adulation, he occasionally intermixed obscene jests and stories, was busy in the kitchen, and possessed the art of dressing ragouts of cheese to the Duke's taste.

He was soon admitted to familiarity, crept into his patron's confidence, and was allowed to inspect his letters.

This inflaming his natural presumption, his impertinence would sometimes draw on him severe chastisement. On one occasion, he received a regular caning in presence of the whole army: but his vivacity was proof against such checks. He was laughed at, laughed himself.

When Vendome quitted Italy, he took Alberoni along with him. He continued an humble attendant about his person, sometimes in Flanders, sometimes in the Duke's retirement of Anet; and in this capacity, followed him to Spain in 1710, where Vendome was sent to take the command of the French and Spanish army. The monarchy was obstinately disputed between Philip, of the family of Bourbon, supported by his grandfather, Lewis XIV. and the Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor Joseph.

Philip, who was finally declared King of Spain, was a prince of slender capacity, indolent, and uxorious. His wife, who was in reality the sovereign, was Maria-Louisa, of Savoy, daughter

of Duke Victor Amodeus; and she used with moderation the power she derived from the character and passions of her husband. Her disposition was undescribably sweet, and pictured in her lovely countenance. Her eyes were touched with a sprightly softness, which bespoke a mind at once gentle and animated. Her person was small, but finely proportioned. She was adored by the people, and deserved their attachment, not only by the affable graces which adorned her, but by the higher virtues of courage and magnanimity. These she had often occasion to exert.

Reverses had nearly wearied out the constancy of Philip. In despair, he was on the point of giving up his crown. The voice of his consort made him ashamed of his weakness, and called up in his breast more generous resolutions.

Lewis XIV. sinking in the same manner under the misfortunes of war, would have withdrawn his support from his grandson, but this temporary wavering was soon overcome, by the pathetic entreaties and mild expostulations of Maria-Louisa.

When the royal coffers were exhausted, and the financiers of Philip perplexed, she procured money by her soothing address and captivating manners.

In one of these pressing exigencies, she went in person to the town-hall of Madrid, and harangued the magistrates with the dignity of a queen, and the persuasive sweetness of a woman. They immediately contributed six thousand pistoles.

By the forms of the Spanish court, the Cameristas, or young ladies who attend the Queen, are under the care and superintendance of a chief, who is called Camerara Major.

This is a situation of considerable importance, from the opportunities of personal influence which it gives.

On the marriage of Philip, Cardinal Portocarrero had procured it for a lady to whom he had been attached by very tender ties. This was the Princess D'Ursini.

She was a French woman by birth;—her name La Tremouille. When very young, she had been married to Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais. After his death, she travelled into Italy. Here she became acquainted with Cardinal Portocarrero. A rich Italian nobleman, the Duke de Bracciano, of the family D'Ursini, was persuaded to fall in love with her, and marry her.

She now established her residence at Rome. Her house was the resort of all that was elegant and distinguished in that city. Every one was in good-humour, except her husband. But this created little uneasiness in the sprightly Duchess. She amused herself with occasional excursions to Paris. In one of these, she formed a connection with Madame de Maintenon, and was admitted into her little knot of saints.

She soon distinguished herself by the vigour of her orthodoxy.

The mother of the Gallican church had been unfortunately seduced by the soft, mystical eloquence of Fenelon, in the famous controversy concerning the love of God. The tender-hearted Archbishop had recommended this love in language so much resembling that of human passion, that the ladies were zealous partisans of his opinions. Not so D'Ursini; she was rigid and inflexible. Returning from one of her visits to the French capital, she found her husband dead. After this, whether from the embarrassment of her circumstances,* or from that unaccountable ambition often observed among the higher ranks of mankind, of courting slavery when disguised by the names and splendid trappings of greatness, she quitted the life of independence she had hitherto led, and solicited the appointment that has been mentioned, of Camerara Major to the Queen of Spain.

This is the picture she gives of her situation: "Good God! what a lot has been cast upon me; I have not a moment's repose! The time is past, when I could take a little rest after my dinner, and eat when I was hungry. I esteem myself but too lucky when I can make a hurried meal. It often happens I am called away just as I am tasting the first bit. I have the honour of giving the King his

* In one of her letters, quoted in the Memoires de Noailles, she says, "Je suis gueuse; il est vrai:" yet it is mentioned in the Memoires de St. Simon, that she had been recently left a considerable fortune.

night-gown when he goes to bed, and his slippers when he gets up. I am likewise loaded with his Majesty's sword when he goes to undress himself. I am even sometimes the bearer of his chamber pot . . . . . He is so well pleased with my services, that he has frequently the goodness to call me up a full couple of hours before I would wish to leave my bed. The Queen finds all this extremely diverting, and condescends to smile at the ridiculous scenes I exhibit: yet she has not the same confidence in me she had in the chambermaids of her own country. I am not half so much in her good graces. Why? for the life of me, I cannot conceive. I am sure they were not so handy in taking off her shoes and stockings, and washing her feet.*"

Before age had subdued the attractions of her person, D'Ursini was cast in a mould of voluptuousness and desire. She was above the middle size, of a brown complexion; her bosom exuberantly full, her blue eyes large, and full of fire.

The character of her mind was violent and imperious; hurrying forward to its objects without much regard to difficulties or obstacles, or a very scrupulous attention to the choice of means;—all this concealed under the appearance of gentleness and sweetness.

In the various events of a doubtful war, the royal

* Mem. de Noailles, vol. ii. pp. 171—173.

couple whom she directed, had more than once occasion to borrow constancy and resolution from her. Her spirit, not easily broken or dismayed, imparted vigour to theirs.

Few women were better qualified to shine in the private circles of life;—her diversified experience had given her great insight into the characters of men; she possessed, in a supreme degree, what has been called the knowledge of the world, that nice perception, that exquisite feeling, which, in the mixed assemblage of society, discerns at once what is proper for every one, and assigns to every one what his sensibility demands.

The most courtly polish was diffused over her manners. Her conversation was of inexhaustible variety and fertility.

Chastity, it must be owned, was not her distinguishing virtue. A man of the name of D'Aubigni triumphed over the politician, and found her the fond woman, willing to purchase pleasure by any sacrifice. A dissembler in every thing else, here she was open and even impudent. This was evinced on a remarkable occasion.

The French ambassador, in a dispatch directed to Lewis XIV. giving him a picture of the Spanish court, had occasion, of course, to speak of D'Ursini:—"There is a stout young fellow," said he, "of the name of D'Aubigni, one of her household, who certainly goes to bed to her. But I make no doubt they are privately married." "Pour mariée!

non;" was her marginal annotation, when she intercepted the dispatch, which she allowed, with this commentary, to go forward to its destination.

But if in this instance her passions overcame her discretion, in another she consulted entirely the public good. She had the merit of recommending Orri to the place of minister of finance, and supporting him in the reforms he judged it necessary to introduce. By his solid and laborious science, the revenue was considerably increased, and relieved from a heavy burthen of debt.

A view of the court of Philip would be indeed imperfect, which excluded his confessor. Père D'Aubenton had followed him from France in this capacity.

Though the King was sufficiently disposed to pay implicit obedience to his confessor, yet so galling was the yoke D'Aubenton maintained over him, that he more than once testified his impatience. D'Aubenton was an instrument employed by those who wished to supplant the ascendant of the Queen and D'Ursini. The latter was aware of this, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to effect the dismissal of the confessor.

Such was the court of Spain, at the arrival of Alberoni. He immediately laid down for himself the plan of conduct he was to pursue; to examine every part of the scene with attention, discover the leading weaknesses of the principal actors, and manage them to his own advantage.

Many of the provinces were in rebellion, more or less decided. He was thought a proper person to be sent to the best disposed among them, to intrigue with the disaffected, bribe some, and intimidate others. He discharged this commission with dexterity, and had no small success as a spy and clandestine agent.

Vendome and D'Ursini were soon at variance. She was ambitious of an unlimited influence, and he was little disposed to submit to her controul in any thing.

When he went, therefore, to take the command of the army, he left Alberoni to watch any intrigues which might be set on foot against him in his absence, trusting entirely to his zeal in counteracting them.

But zealous gratitude was no part of Alberoni's character. He remained at Madrid, observing the cautious management of one, who never on any occasion thinks of thwarting or offending power, whose eye is perpetually intent on all the tremblings of the balance, and who is at all times ready to throw himself into the scale that shall appear to preponderate.

This ambiguous conduct, however, escaped the notice of his benefactor; for, a little before his death, he procured him a pension of four thousand ducats on the Archbishopric of Valencia.

His death happened in 1712.

Alberoni was now without the advantages a

powerful protection might be supposed to afford him; but felt himself withal, more at liberty. He might pursue his ambitious speculations without fetter or restraint.

The Queen Maria-Louisa died two years after: and his aptitude for speculations of this kind had an opportunity of showing itself.

The propensity which impelled the King to a second marriage, was of a nature not to be resisted. It became necessary to provide him with a wife as soon as possible: but who this wife should be, was a matter of infinite moment to all whose hopes and fears were directed towards the court;—to none so much as to D'Ursini.

Her mind delivered itself over to the most anxious meditation. In the critical situation in which she stood, her fall, she foresaw, would be the consequence of a false step; hence the doubts and waverings which distracted her.

A glance of hope shot across her at one time to ascend herself the royal bed. She was past the age of inspiring love:—but a less fastidious passion, she knew, animated Philip.

She contrived to have her bed-room near his; she was perpetually going into the latter, under pretence of discharging her duty as governess to his children; she employed every art to inflame him during the painful celibacy he endured: but pride, which mixed strongly with the workings of his gloomy mind, rendered [illegible] ineffectual.

Being told that it was thought he would marry the Princess, he expressed himself in a way which appeared to her a signal to abandon her hopes.

Disappointed in this scheme, she began to reflect more seriously on the several Princesses who might be chosen. She dreaded a Princess from Portugal; —the neighbourhood of the kingdoms would establish a perpetual intercourse between the two courts, which might be dangerous to her. A French Princess she equally feared;—French vivacity would not easily be subdued to the yoke she prepared for the future queen. She at length bethought herself of the court of Parma.

Francis, the reigning Duke, had no children: but his deceased brother Oduard, whom he had succeeded, had left a daughter, to whom Francis had become still more closely allied, by marrying her mother.

D'Ursini had heard that this daughter (whose name was Elizabeth) had been hardly brought up, kept in perpetual subjection, and educated, as it should seem, for a life of dependence. Nothing could meet more exactly her views; and then she promised herself gratitude and submission without bounds, should Elizabeth have to thank her for her elevation, from the obscurity and poverty of a petty court in Italy, to the rank and splendour of Queen of Spain.

But before she finally decided, her evil genius led her to consult Alberoni, who was very much in

her intimacy and confidence, since, in order to secure her favour, he had sacrificed the exclusive attachment he owed the Duke of Vendome. She might have reflected that a person capable of such flagrant ingratitude, was not to be relied upon against any views of interest which he might be led to entertain. But the artful Italian had contrived to persuade her, that her singular talents for gaining the hearts of men had alone prevailed over the inclination he felt for his benefactor; and a piece of flattery so sweet to the vanity of woman, had bereft her of her usual sagacity and discernment.

Alberoni shewed himself on this occasion accomplished in perfidy. He was well acquainted with the court of Parma, and knew the Princess Elizabeth was the very reverse of what D'Ursini supposed her.

Instead of the simple docile character her deceived imagination bestowed upon her, she possessed a disposition in the highest degree bold, aspiring, impatient of controul.

But Alberoni had formed a plan of ambition on the illusion he saw she had fallen into, and therefore said every thing to confirm her in it.

As Philip's impatience for a wife admitted of no delay; as soon as the choice of the Princess of Parma was determined upon, the marriage wa solemnized, and the new queen set out to join her desiring husband.

It is said that D'Ursini, discovering her error, dispatched a messenger who might have prevented the espousal. He arrived at Parma just the day before that appointed for the celebration of the marriage. Have you a mind to live? was the question put to him on his arrival. If so, conceal yourself till after to-morrow.

The celebration took place; the messenger appeared; the Queen pursued her journey to Spain through France. At Bayonne she saw her aunt, widow of Charles II. last Austrian King of Spain, who lived there in great retirement on a small pension allowed her by the court of Madrid. Whether it was in this interview the Queen was led to adopt the extraordinary resolution she afterwards displayed, or was only confirmed in what was already in her thoughts, is very uncertain.* D'Ursini had

* Accounts vary very much upon this subject. According to some, the Queen's resolution was suggested by the court of Versailles. Others, again, state that she formed it upon hearing of the counter-orders given by the favourite with relation to her marriage. Her aunt was the author of it, according to some. The plan was laid by Alberoni, according to others. It is no less uncertain, whether Philip had any previous knowledge of the transaction. I have supposed in the text, that he had, agreeably to the information of the Spanish author. I have superadded a circumstance out of Duclos. The Marquis de St. Philippe, who had the best means of knowing the truth, says, like a grave Spaniard, that "what it pleases the majesty of the throne to keep a mystery, he is far from the presumption of seeking to discover." After all, it

got her appointment of Camerara Major renewed, and was impatient to receive the transports of gratitude she thought awaited her.

Philip advanced as far as Guadalaxara, twelve leagues from Madrid, to meet his expected wife. He was accompanied by the Camerara Major. He arrived at Guadalaxara the day before the eve of Christmas.

D'Ursini, whose bosom throbbed with the most eager and joyful expectations, would not stop here, but went seven leagues further to Xadraque, a village where the Queen was expected to pass the night. She had put on a full dress of ceremony, and promised herself a delightful evening. It was dark; and the Queen was not arrived. The weather was intensely cold. She ordered a good fire to be made in the best room in the inn, and sat down to supper. Scarcely had she sat down, when the arrival of the Queen was announced. She went down stairs to meet her, and followed her to the apartment prepared for her. The Queen treated her with marked coolness and indifference. D'Ursini, accustomed to a tone of authority with the late consort of Philip, was not a little surprised; but ascribing her behaviour to her ignorance of the

is very possible that Philip, seeing the thing done, yielded to the empire his wife, whoever she was, was destined to exercise over him, and confirmed by his acquiescence, what he had not previously authorised.

rank she occupied in the monarchy, resolved to let her know who she was; and accordingly began to animadvert on her slow manner of travelling, and the late hour at which she had arrived. The Queen angrily replied that such language did not become a subject. D'Ursini, no wise dismayed, continued her censures, applying them next to the Queen's dress. The Queen ordered her to quit the room; on her offering to remonstrate, she called aloud for the officer in waiting, and ordered him to get ready a coach and six, and not quit D'Ursini till she had reached the French frontier. D'Ursini would have disobeyed, declaring that nothing but an order from the King himself would oblige her. The officer then shewed her the King's order, which had been secretly given to him, to execute whatever the Queen commanded, without exception or reserve.*

Philip knew of her design, and in his heart re-

* I have collected from the Spanish author, the particulars of this curious scene. In St. Simon and Duclos, the Queen declares like a mad woman, breaks out into a fury without any apparent cause, and without the least transition or connection in the dialogue, orders the officer to carry off d'Ursini. Duclos says, indeed, that Alberoni, when he quitted Spain, communicated the circumstances he relates, to a person from whom he had them, with the intervention only of a third. Alberoni would, no doubt, be high authority; but there is no congruity in the transaction as Duclos describes it; scarcely is it reconcileable with common sense.

joiced at it. He had long wished to shake off the dominion of D'Ursini, but had not resolution to do it himself. He therefore concerted the matter with the Queen, and wrote to her a letter:—"Be sure you do not miss your blow;—give her but an hour, and you are her slave!"

It was the middle of winter;—the ground covered with frost and snow;—no provisions to be found in the inns of Spain;—no beds:—yet D'Ursini maintained the strength and constancy of her character. She was not observed to shed a tear;—not a complaint escaped her. She arrived at length at St. John de Luz, a little town in France, built on the sea-shore; and here she was set at liberty. She hastened to write to her old friend Madame de Maintenon:—"I am here in a small house;—the ocean before me, sometimes calm, sometimes agitated:—it is an image of what passes in courts:—you know what has happened to me, I shall not implore in vain your generous compassion!"

But she had little to expect from the compassion she relied upon. It was thought at Versailles, that she had been wanting, during her prosperity, in deference and submission. She was condemned as having determined on Philip's marriage without the sanction she should have solicited from France. The sprightly marginal note to the correspondence of the ambassador was not forgotten. Her preposterous ambition to obtain a sovereignty

in the Low Countries,* which had retarded the general peace at Utrecht, had given great offence.

From these causes, she met with a very cold reception at the French court.† The death of the King was an event to be expected; and the authority would then devolve upon the Duke of Orleans, who regarded her as his personal enemy. She therefore made no long stay in Paris. She was at a loss where to fix herself; several states refused her admittance. At length, she obtained permission from the Pope to reside in Rome. She here attached herself to the court of the Pretender, and acted as a sort of mistress of ceremonies, like a veteran courtier clinging to the last, to the pageantry of greatness. She died at a very advanced age, in the midst of her frivolous occupations, in 1722.

The day after the banishment of D'Ursini, the Queen was received by her husband at Guadalaxara. The marriage ceremony was repeated, the

* She prevailed upon Philip to make the cession of this sovereignty to her, a condition in the treaty. The plenipotentiaries of Holland would not agree to it; and the whole negociation was at a stand. Nothing but the repeated menaces of Lewis XIV. would obtain the signature of his grandson. The most ridiculous part of the transaction was, that D'Ursini affected to have a sort of ambassador in her own name at the Congress, a Baron de Bournonville, who got universally laughed at, and was amply recompensed in Spain.

† It was believed that the design of the Queen had originated from thence, as I have mentioned in a preceding note.

marriage consummated, and D'Ursini and her adventures entirely forgotten.

Since the death of Vendome, Alberoni had sought the acquaintance of his countrymen at Madrid, and connected himself with those who might promote his interest. He contrived to get a footing in the house of the Marquis de Casali, the Parmesan minister. The Marquis having occasion soon after to return to his country, left the affairs of the Duke his master, in his hands.

He was now therefore regarded as envoy of Parma; and in this capacity thought himself authorised to go as far as Pampeluna, to meet the new Queen.* He presumed, no doubt, upon her favour, as a principal instrument in procuring her elevation. Her first compliments were not very encouraging:—"I have heard, (said she) you are an egregious rascal." He bowed, flattered, and quickly soothed and conciliated her.

* Many of the writers who have treated this portion of history, represent him as going to Parma to negociate the marriage, and as having been present at the espousals. Mr. D'Anquetil follows this narrative, and attributes to him the question put to the messenger who arrived with the orders of D'Ursini, and the summary and decisive conduct by which these orders were rendered unavailing. I have preferred the narrative of St. Philippe, who I think must have been best informed.

These are minute variations of little importance; but I take notice of them, to shew the uncertainty which attends, at least, the subordinate parts of history.

It was in the last days of the year 1714, that Philip and his Queen made their public entry into Madrid.

A transaction of a curious nature had been some time in agitation, which assumed now a new aspect. Some share in this may be attributed to Alberoni, whose influence had already insinuated itself into the public councils.

The privilege of Sanctuary, or the protection afforded by certain places of worship, had its origin in barbarous times.—When men were but feebly restrained by laws and government, Religion interposed with salutary terrors for the defence of the weak, and the coercion of the strong. The barbarian, who heard with disdain the commands of the magistrate, felt his ferocity restrained, when he approached places consecrated by the tradition of generations, as the peculiar residence of the Divinity.

It cannot be reasonably doubted, that in these early periods of society, such impressions operated in a salutary manner. They supplied the place of regular institutions, and accomplished among our rude ancestors, what laws and government are intended to effect among us. But in succeeding times, when the magistrate became armed with adequate powers of punishment and protection, the privilege of Sanctuary, instead of affording refuge to persecuted innocence, served only to hold out the prospect of impunity to guilt. It had ac-

cordingly been gradually contracted, and finally abolished in most of the countries of Europe.

But Spain had not kept pace with her neighbours in the general progress of civilization. What times past had left of most barbarous and absurd, she, in many instances, preserved with religious tenderness. This was the case of the privilege in question. The effect was, that multiplied crimes were committed; justice disarmed of its terrors. Such is the complaint of all travellers who visited Spain at the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth centuries: yet no remedy was applied; the evil was, on the contrary, increasing. Not only churches were a place of refuge to malefactors; they were supposed to sanctify the adjoining places, and there were even shops where a criminal might remain in safety.

As much as this abuse affected the administration of justice, and the security of individuals, there was another equally injurious to the King's revenue.

There are a variety of taxes in Spain which are not levied upon ecclesiastical property. Besides, therefore, the motives which had suggested the political regulations of other countries, Spain had an additional inducement to restrain the growth of this species of property. Yet she had not done so. This property received continually fresh accessions, by which the produce of the taxes was proportionably diminished.

In these circumstances, Don Melchior Macanaz,* Fiscal of the council of Castille, framed a memorial, which he presented to the council, animadverting on both the above-mentioned abuses. It was zealously patronised by Orri, who was labouring to introduce order into the finances. His patronage engaged that of D'Ursini. The King, whose religious scruples were easily alarmed, would not listen to any proposal upon the subject, till he had consulted his confessor. Père D'Aubenton would probably have declared himself an enemy to every thing that looked like reform: but this fanatical Jesuit had been discarded by the influence of D'Ursini. He was now at Rome, involved in the gloom of theology, settling all the propositions that were to be condemned in the bull Unigenitus. Père Robinet, who had succeeded him, was a man of a different character, moderate and approaching to liberality in his way of thinking. He read the memorial of Macanaz, and saw nothing censu-

* This Macanaz has been celebrated by a number of French writers as a champion of Philosophy;—but it should seem, Philosophy had little share in prompting his conduct on this occasion. He is the author of a book, entitled, "Defensa critica de la Inquisicion," which has been reprinted of late years, as an answer to the impugners of this venerable tribunal. It is true, when Macanaz wrote this treatise, he was many years older. It appeared for the first time in 1736. How far age and the approach of death may have checked and damped his juvenile spirit of reform, I will not determine.

rable in it. But this did not satisfy the zealots. They insisted it was flagrantly heretical. The blind zeal of the populace was excited, and Macanaz was in danger of being torn in pieces. A copy got into the hands of some of the Inquisition, and a decree appeared, branding the memorial with all the epithets invented by theological bitterness.

The decree was forwarded to Paris, for the signature of the inquisitor-general Cardinal Giudice, who happened to be there at the time. Some analogy had been discovered between the opinions advanced by Macanaz, and the principles of two French writers, who were by name introduced into the decree, and involved in the condemnation which it pronounced.

Giudice, without asking the King of France's permission, had this decree, manufactured by the Spanish Inquisition, and confirmed by himself, posted up in all parts of Paris, and even at the palace of Marly.

Lewis was vehemently orthodox: but a principal article in his creed, was respect for his authority.

A proceeding, which seemed to set his authority at defiance, in which a Spanish inquisitor-general, in the capital of his dominions, and almost in his very court, fulminated censures against two of his subjects, without troubling himself about his approbation or consent, was what a monarch

of his lofty notions, so jealous of his prerogative, could ill brook. He wrote to his grandson on the conduct of Giudice, in terms of the highest displeasure.

The Cardinal was in complete disgrace, while D'Ursini had any power or influence; but her fall drew after it the disgrace of all she had patronised, and the triumph of those she had opposed. Giudice soon after was called to the rank of prime minister. Macanaz took refuge in France. Orri was ordered to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours. Père Robinet, seeing the course things were taking, withdrew, carrying away with him the regret of moderate men. D'Aubenton was recalled; Philip again obliged to endure this turbulent confessor.

Alberoni, whose power was yet in its infancy, and consisted in little more than the whispers of intrigue, and the arts of secret influence, did not take a very conspicuous part in this proceeding. But notwithstanding his known indifference about religion, with an appearance of orthodox zeal, and a whining *tone* of piety, approved of every thing that was done; at once paying servile obedience to the Queen, and promoting an object he had in view, of taking root in the good graces of the court of Rome.

The greater part of the household who had accompanied the Queen from Parma, left her at the frontier. The Princess of Piombino, to whom she

was much attached, proceeded with her as far as Madrid; but observing the vicissitudes to which favourites are subject, she had the good sense to prefer happiness at home, to the precarious splendour which invited her,

The Queen, deprived of those in whom she had been accustomed to place confidence, gradually and insensibly delivered herself over to the counsels of Alberoni. As her countryman, as in a great degree the author of her fortune, as representing the Prince her uncle, he had many avenues to her favour. But no sooner did she become a mother, than a new passion sprang up in her breast, which raged with such violence, as to require no great sagacity to discern or skill to manage it, and which rendered her a mere instrument in the hands of those who knew how to take advantage of it. To procure establishments for her children became to her an object of ambition, in the pursuit of which she sacrificed every thing, even common sense. Italy was the country she principally looked to for the establishments she so eagerly coveted. She was heiress to the Duchies of Parma and Placentia, on the extinction of the male line, which seemed likely to happen, as neither the reigning Duke, nor his brother Anthony, had any children, or the prospect of any.

But the Emperor had claims founded on a circumstance in the history of those principalities, which, should he be able to maintain, might possi-

bly intercept the succession from her and her posterity.

They had been for centuries without any settled master, exposed to the inroads of contending potentates. But even in these times of anarchy and confusion, the Emperors affected to consider them as depending upon them in quality of fiefs of the Empire. When Julius II. united them to the Papal See, at the time of the great alliance formed against France by that bold and enterprising pontiff, the Emperor Maximilian had been prevailed upon to give his consent; but in the act of consent was inserted a clause, "saving the rights of the Empire." They were afterwards alienated by Paul III. in favour of his son Peter Lewis, from whom the Dukes of Parma descended; but it was contended on the part of the Emperor, that they had always been and still continued, notwithstanding these changes in the immediate government, fiefs of the Empire, liable to revert to him on the failure of male posterity in their princes. The Queen of Spain had likewise a prospect of the succession of Tuscany. Gaston, the only son of the reigning Grand Duke, was in circumstances not to hope for issue, and she, as descended from Cosmo II. had claims to the inheritance.

It might well however be apprehended, that the Emperor, whose dominions in Italy were exposed to the pretensions of the King of Spain, would not allow such considerable territories in that country

to pass, without opposition, into the family of his rival.

This state of things coincided with the projects which Alberoni, having now reached the prospect of the supreme power, was meditating in silence. The real power of the state had already in a great measure devolved upon him; but he did not think it expedient to come forward with any appointment in the ministry, till he had secured an object he was at that time secretly and anxiously labouring for: he therefore looked round for a man, who might carry the appearance of prime minister for a time, and be removed at pleasure. Cardinal Giudice, the inquisitor-general, who had been re-instated in favour on the banishment of the Princess D'Ursini, struck him as exactly calculated for the purpose. He was an ecclesiastic of noble birth and mean parts, who would be content to act under his dictates, and would oppose no resistance, when it became convenient to dismiss him.

Giudice was accordingly appointed prime minister.

The object to which all the faculties of Alberoni's mind were directed, for which he was willing to make a temporary sacrifice of his ambitious schemes, was a place in the College of Cardinals. A Cardinal's hat would, he thought, efface the little disgraceful circumstances in his early life, and give weight to his character, when he should

make his appearance in the political world. Behind the Purple, too, he would find a retreat on any reverse of fortune, from a standing maxim of policy among the Cardinals, to protect the dignity in the person invested with it, however obnoxious he might be as an individual, or however acrimonious the persecution he might be exposed to.

He had many difficulties to surmount in the pursuit of this object. His mean birth and parentage, and still meaner occupations, when he came to attract at all the notice of mankind, would be alleged against him; but he was encouraged by observing, what a thousand examples tended to verify, that he who dispenses the wealth, and directs the forces of nations, tramples on those fugitive opinions which feeble vanity would oppose to him.

The Pope, however, had the greatest unwillingness to gratify him, and he immediately applied himself to soothe or rather to deceive him into compliance.

The circumstances of the times gave him an opportunity.

The Turks had declared war against the Venetians. They had made themselves masters of the Morea. Their armaments and occasional descents spread consternation along the shores of the Adriatic.

The terrified pontiff earnestly implored succours from Spain: but no succours would he have ob-

tained, had he not been seconded by the views of Alberoni.

When it was proposed in the Spanish cabinet to send ships and troops in deference to his prayers and exhortations, Giudice, though a Cardinal, yet affecting to be guided entirely by the principles of a politician, exclaimed against what he called the pious simplicity of the proposal.

Alberoni, with as little pious simplicity, got all objections over-ruled; and six ships were sent for the protection of Italy.

There were several points of ecclesiastical litigation between the courts of Rome and Madrid. By his influence the King of Spain withdrew his pretensions, and the Pope prevailed in every instance. These services he took care to have proclaimed and magnified by the Spanish ambassador at Rome.

The King and Queen of Spain were perpetually renewing their solicitations.

The Papal Nuncio at Madrid, gained over by Alberoni, represented his growing power, and the benefit the church might derive from a timely compliance with his wishes.

The Pope could no longer be inflexible; and in a consistory, held the 12th of July, 1717, the long-expected hat was bestowed upon Alberoni:—Now, said he, I have nothing more to pretend to, for myself, I devote myself to the glory of the King.

He now assumed the rank of prime minister. Giudice had been discarded the year before, and

had retired in disgrace to Rome, where he took the opportunity of the consistory to manifest his resentment, representing the indelible disgrace the Purple would sustain by being conferred on a gardener's son,

Alberoni revenged himself by heaping upon him fresh mortifications.

Preparations for a secret expedition had appeared some time past in the ports of Spain. But no one could discover what was precisely intended.

Alberoni took a pleasure in eluding the conjectures that were hazarded upon the subject. The thought, that upon him were directed the speculations of Europe, without being able to penetrate the mysterious secrecy in which he had wrapped his designs, not a little gratified his vanity. Besides, he might have been disappointed of his promotion, if the real object of his armament had transpired; so that although it was evident cavalry was to be transported, and mangers were actually preparing for the horses, he went on answering every inquiry with the pretext of a maritime expedition, declaring sometimes it was to combat the Turks; at others, to scour the Mediterranean of the Sallee rovers who infested it.

As the preparations advanced towards completion, Barcelona was appointed for the place of general assemblage. Early in the spring of this year, Don Joseph Patino, in whom Alberoni reposed great confidence, had been sent there to

have every thing in readiness for the ensuing summer.

On the 24th of July, twelve days after his promotion, part of the fleet had cleared the port. All eyes pursued its course, and various were the conjectures as to its destination. It was seen off Marseilles, steering eastward; and it was then generally concluded, that an attack upon some part of the Emperor's dominions in Italy was intended.

The treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, which pacified the rest of Europe, did not establish peace between the Emperor and King of Spain. The States, however, which laid down their arms, had effected an armistice between them, which, were it faithfully executed, would put it out of their power to carry on hostilities, and might therefore answer the purpose of a regular pacification.

On the part of the Emperor, he was to evacuate the Islands of Majorca and Ivica, and the province of Catalonia; which left Philip in complete possession of the body of the Spanish monarchy and its immediate dependencies.

It was agreed on the other hand, that until a general peace, there should be an entire cessation of all manner of hostilities both by sea and land through the whole extent of Italy and its adjacent isles:—so that whatever claims Philip retained to possessions in this part of Europe, he seemed by this stipulation to surrender all warlike means of

enforcing them. He did not at the same time renounce these claims, and they existed for the purpose of disturbing, at some future period, the harmony which the armistice was intended to establish.

He complained, that the evacuation of Catalonia had not been executed with good faith by the Emperor, who still corresponded with the disaffected in this and other provinces of Spain. The Emperor recriminated by similar complaints of disturbances, fomented in his Italian dominions, by the intrigues of the Spanish cabinet. The Spanish cabinet alleged, he was every day extending his power and influence in Italy, by new and unauthorised pretensions.

The long catalogue of rival titles, which both Princes continued to assume in all their public acts, preserved at once a hostile disposition, and would serve as pretexts to whichever was disposed to attack the other.

The Queen, regarding the Emperor as the principal obstacle to the establishment of her children, was easily persuaded by the view of any scheme, which promised to curtail his power.

An incident happened this year, which added weight to the suggestions of the minister, and dispersed any pacific sentiments which still adhered to Philip.

Don Joseph Molinez had resided many years at Rome, in quality of envoy from Spain. He was

a peevish, captious old man, and had been engaged in a variety of quarrels. The privileges and punctilios of the Spanish embassy, he maintained with the most pertinacious vehemence. One of the shirri, or officers of the papal police, having, in his opinion, violated them by exerting some act of authority in the Piazza D'Espagna, he had him unmercifully bastinadoed.

But the Emperor, and his adherents, particularly called forth his contentious disposition. He carried on incessant war with every Spaniard at Rome, who had shewn the least favour to the Emperor's cause, though belonging to provinces which at the time had been subjugated by the arms of that Prince.

The Pope had frequently been offended by his violence, and had complained of his conduct. His complaints, long unattended to, had obtained a favourable hearing, when the ambition of Alberoni had disposed the Spanish government to seek to gratify him. An order had been given for the recall of Molinez, and Cardinal Aqueviva, of a noble Neapolitan family, had been sent to replace him.

In this juncture, before Molinez had left Rome, happened the disgrace of Giudice. Molinez was appointed his successor in the place of inquisitor-general.

As soon as his appointment was notified to him, he prepared to set out for Spain, to exercise his

new office. Labouring under complicated infirmities, he did not think it expedient to go by sea, and he could not go by land without passing through the Emperor's dominions. Having with such indefatigable assiduity exposed himself to the resentment of the whole imperial party, he had reason to apprehend some disagreeable adventure, if once he got into the Emperor's power. The Pope gave him a passport, and plenty of indulgences. What would have been more to the purpose, was to have got a regular passport from the imperial ambassador. He however was satisfied with a very equivocal declaration on the part of the latter, and proceeded on his journey. Besides the resentment he had incurred, he was in further danger of being stopped, from the preparations of which the ports of Spain were then full. The Emperor's ministers thought his papers might give some light into the object of these preparations; and their hopes on this head were strengthened, when it was known that he went to Placentia, and had a secret conference with the Duke of Parma. He had no sooner, therefore, set his foot in the Milanese, than, by orders of the governor, he, with all his papers, was conveyed to the castle of Milan.

The Marquis de Sant Philippe was Spanish resident in Genoa, a man of feeble understanding, as appears by his Memoires, full of transcendent notions of the dignity of his King, and believing

wonders of his power. His letter, transmitting intelligence of the stoppage and imprisonment of Molinez, was couched in language, such as Alberoni himself would have dictated. It expatiated on the affront offered to his Majesty. It represented the act of stopping the inquisitor-general, as an infraction of all agreements between the Emperor and Spain. Finally, it recommended immediate hostilities.*

Nothing could arrive more seasonably for Alberoni. His preparations for war, which had been long going on, were now complete. His negociation for a Cardinal's hat, promised to come immediately to a close. He wanted only a pretext for the hostilities he had been meditating, and a

* These are Sant Philippe's own words: The Marquis (himself) hearing the news, immediately communicated it to his Catholic Majesty, pointing out the outrage offered to his Majesty, in having dared to stop the inquisitor-general, who was passing through the Emperor's territories on the faith of a passport, and of the word he had received. This, he insisted, was a new infringement of the neutrality of Italy, which was secured by an engagement equivalent to an armistice. He concluded by a variety of reflections, which had for their object, to animate the King to take vengeance for the insult offered him. The Marquis flattered himself, these reasons would finally determine Philip to undertake the war of Italy.

After this candid declaration, the same Marquis seems to complain, that Alberoni should have afterwards loaded him with the responsibility of the war. Mem. de Sant Philippe, vol. iii. p. 195.

something to work on the King's mind, and engage him to give his consent.

Philip, notwithstanding his slender capacity, and the sort of lethargic stupor in which he was habitually plunged, was easily excited by what was represented to him as an affront, and would greedily catch at any scheme, which had the attraction of glaring colours to recommend it.

Having read the letter, he asked Alberoni's advice. Alberoni's promotion had not yet been determined upon at this time; and the hypocrisy he practised, is really curious. He recommended to the King to send the letter to the Duke of Popoli, for his opinion. Popoli had been rewarded with some of the spoils of the disgraced Giudice; succeeding him as governor to the Prince of Asturias. He was a model of courtly prudence and discretion, and never suggested any thing but what he thought would please. He flattered himself, that on this occasion he had hit precisely the views of the minister. He not only advised war, but war to be carried on exactly where he conceived the minister intended war,—in the island of Sardinia and the dominions of Naples. But Alberoni's refinement quite disconcerted him. "War! (wrote he to Popoli,)—the bare proposal struck me with horror and consternation!"—Popoli, at a loss what to think, abandoned himself, in answer, to a frank avowal of the motives of his conduct.—

"Nobody can disapprove of war more than I do. But I thought when the King did me the honour to seem to ask my advice, he had already taken his resolution, with your entire approbation." It was contrived the King should see both letters. Alberoni was gently reprimanded for his extreme attachment to peace, and for exerting an undue influence to bring over others to his own pacific sentiments.* He was allowed to give what instruc-

* Mr. Coxe, in his recent publication, has thought proper to deny, that the scene between Alberoni and the Duke of Popoli was the impudent farce which I have described it, and zealously maintains the sincerity of the former in wishing to avert the war. He attributes it entirely to Philip and his Queen, though it is evident, from the whole history of Alberoni in Spain, they were mere puppets in his hands. He allows that the Marquis of Sant Philippe considered his correspondence with Popoli as a political farce. No one had better opportunities of knowing and judging than the Marquis, and he was not remarkably acute and sharp-sighted in discovering farces. The circumstances must have been strikingly gross to have obtruded themselves on his observation. Mr. Coxe, however, appeals, with much confidence, to Alberoni's letter to Popoli, in support of his opinion. The whole tenor of it conveys, to my mind, directly the contrary impression, and I have accordingly printed it in my appendix as I find it in Mr. Coxe's work. The reader will form his judgment. In this paper he speaks of the succession of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, secured by France and England, as a reason for not embarking in the war; yet on all other occasions he mentions this prospect, held out by those powers, with perfect contempt.—See a conversation of his, transmitted by Mr. Doddington to his court; Coxe, vol. ii. p. 155;

tions he pleased to the commanders of the expedition that was preparing to sail from Barcelona.

What his precise views were in thus kindling the

—his conferences with the English and Dutch ministers after the occupation of Sardinia.—"For the successions of Tuscany and Parma the King cares not; such trifles are not worthy the attention of his Catholic Majesty." It is impossible to read the account of those conferences in Mr. Coxe without being convinced he was the author of the war.

From the marriage of Philip, certainly from the fall of Giudice, Alberoni was really prime, it may almost be said sole, minister in Spain. He was the secret spring of every movement, the author and adviser of every measure. The most busy preparations were going on for war during the greatest part of that time. What was the object of them? It will not seriously be maintained that a war with the infidels was intended. Alberoni always affected to be far above the simplicity of any such pious design. The preparations were carried on immediately under his auspices, as appears by the visit of Don Joseph Patinos, whom Mr. Coxe calls the friend and confidant of the minister, to Barcelona early in the spring of 1717, for the purpose of forwarding them. That, while Alberoni was panting for war, and an occasion of making a brilliant figure in the world, he should be anxious to load his unfortunate sovereign with the responsibility, is agreeable enough to the general meanness and falsehood of his character; when a reverse of fortune took place, he would naturally avail himself of all the little circumstances attending the transaction, and expressions in official papers he had himself prepared to favour the deceit.

I cannot but express my surprise that a man of Mr. Coxe's sagacity and discernment should have actually persuaded himself of the honesty and genuine political wisdom of this turbulent adventurer.

flames of war, it is not easy to ascertain. He was, no doubt, ambitious of a splendid reputation, and wished to dazzle the eyes of mankind, by bold and magnificent undertakings.

Why Italy and the dominions of the Emperor became the first objects of his warlike operations, may be accounted for by the circumstances in which this Prince stood relatively to Spain, and the complexion of the Queen's ambitious views.

But much perhaps may be attributed to the manner of thinking which prevailed among his countrymen, and which might have infused itself into his mind in early life.

As far back as the time of Petrarch, the speculative imaginations of Italy had reposed with complacency on the thought of driving all strangers (whom the Italians denominated barbarians, but more particularly the Germans) from a country, its former brilliant fortunes seemed to have consecrated.

A barbarian on the banks of the Danube assuming the title of Cæsar, and affecting the dignity of Roman Emperor, excited the most lively indignation in the feeble, but vain descendants of the conquerors of the world.

Part of this plan, Alberoni conceived he had the means of executing. He could not entirely deliver Italy from the dominion of strangers; yet if he could put Spain in possession of the Italian territories the Emperor had wrested from it, he

would gratify his countrymen, who more readily coalesced with their southern neighbours, than with the natives of the more northern and rugged tracts, and would raise in the eyes of Europe, the splendour and importance of the monarchy immediately under his direction.

Had he succeeded thus far, it is probable his lively imagination, full of the notion of great things, would have carried him much further. But whether he actually speculated beyond these limits, and if he did, what it was he proposed to accomplish, is no more than conjecture.

Men, astonished at seeing him attempt every day something new, set their fancies at work to invent projects for him.

It was said, he indulged the notion of annexing to the crown of Spain, all it had lost during the reign of Philip II. and since that period; that in particular he meditated the subjugation of the Low Countries, and the United Provinces of Holland. What means he had of effecting these, or any part of these enterprises, will best appear by a view of the circumstances and dispositions of the principal states of Europe; and the strength and resources of the Spanish monarchy, at the time he entered into the career of his administration.

The two principal states, France and England, were at peace, and even on terms of alliance and confederacy.

Lewis XIV. whose restless and fantastic ambition, had occasioned perpetual struggles between them, was no more. The year 1715 saw the termination of a life which, in its gloomy close, seemed to forebode the misfortunes of his posterity. So solemn and affecting a consideration, calls upon us to pause a little upon his character. The gaudy wreaths which flattery twined about his bust, have withered and dropped off. We now contemplate him stript of all adventitious ornaments.

Yet let not too rude a hand pluck off every ornament as adventitious! He may be allowed to borrow some lustre from the glories which surrounded him, during the greatest part of his reign.

The heroes who fought his battles, the poets who sang his praises, the great men in every department of human greatness, who swelled the pomp of his court, raise their voices in favour of the Prince who befriended them, and should mitigate the severity of our judgments.

An air of magnificence is diffused over his history. We feel our hearts agreeably soothed and excited, as we wander among so many splendid scenes, and interesting monuments. In this period of time seems assembled, whatever covers the nakedness of the human condition, whatever justifies a swell of thought in weak, perishable man.

But these high sentiments of admiration cease, when we pass from the decorations of the temple, and consider only the idol. This Prince derived from nature little intrinsic vigour of thought, little real elevation of sentiment; and what little Nature gave, flattery and prosperity corrupted.

To catch the eyes of the vulgar, appeared to be his sole aim. The manner in which future times might be affected by his conduct, never occupied his thoughts.

He never looked beyond the surface. He did not see the principles of dissolution which were at work in the bosom of his kingdom, and which were destined to accomplish the downfall of his descendants. He did not see the incurable wound, his example inflicted on the system of public morals.

France suffered equally by the licentiousness of his youth, and the superstition of his old age.

Religion, to be seated in the hearts of a people, must appear in a liberal and benign form. Lewis, having loosened the ties of morality in the first part of his life, made religion odious by the subsequent atonement he attempted, by a display of puerile devotion, and a gloomy spirit of persecution.

His latter days were passed in depression and in sorrow. His former prosperity tormented him by the recollection. He found nothing to interest or

amuse him.* His ears were deafened by the jargon of religious controversy, and his kingdom distracted by its violence.

The populace, of whom he had long been the idol, pursued his obsequies with insult, and betrayed on this occasion, the first symptoms of their ferocious inconstancy.

He was scarcely dead, when the Parliament of Paris took upon itself to annul his will. The regency devolved upon the Duke of Orleans, and the will did not set him aside; but the dying monarch appointed a council which was to divide the authority with him, and would act as a perpetual restraint upon his government. In disregard of these dispositions, the whole power was vested in the Duke. Many circumstances, some of a public and others of a private nature, disposed this Prince to regard England with a favourable eye, and cultivate connections with it.

The throne of France was occupied by an infant. It was natural to speculate on the contingency of his death. In such an event, two claimants might offer themselves for the vacant throne. The King of Spain would have proximity of blood on his side:—but when at the peace of Utrecht, the powers of Europe consented the Spanish crown

* "Quel supplice d'avoir à amuser un homme qui n'est plus amusable!" were the emphatic words of Madame de Maintenon. How lamentable the condition of the man, "qui n'est plus amusable!"

should remain on his head, they insisted upon his renouncing any claims, that might at any time devolve to him, to the monarchy of France, in terms the strongest that could be contrived; and every solemnity was superadded that could give efficacy to the renunciations agreed upon.

These renunciations confirmed by oath,* taken before the assembled Cortez of Spain, deposited in the archives of nations, forming part of the public law of Europe, would, it might be expected, have been regarded as an insurmountable bar, and extinguished every hope in the mind of a religious prince. But there is a certain temper of religion, which wonderfully favours any casuistry,† that

* These are the words of the renunciation at the peace of Utrecht:—"And for the greatest strength and security of what is contained in this renunciation, and of what is said and promised on my part therein, I give again the pledge of my faith and royal word, and I solemnly swear by the Gospels contained in this missal, upon which I lay my right hand, that I will observe, maintain, and accomplish this act and instrument of renunciation."

See the whole act of renunciation inserted in the treaty between England and Spain.—Chalmers's Collection, vol. ii. p. 40.

† The casuistry by which he endeavoured to delude himself, was this:—His own renunciations, though made in the solemn manner that has been mentioned, he disregarded; but the renunciations of his grandmother, Queen of Lewis XIV. entered into at the time of her marriage, he considered in the last degree binding. This will of Charles II. which

falls in with present interests and present inclinations. Such was the religion of Philip. He took no pains to conceal, that he regarded all his renunciations as nugatory, and that other barriers were to be sought for, in order to secure his perpetual exclusion. He went so far as, at the death of Lewis XIV. to instruct his ambassador, to protest against any regent who should be preferred to him. The ambassador, seeing the spirit which gave the preference to the Duke of Orleans, had the prudence not to obey his instructions.

The Duke, who was not a stranger to these circumstances, which disclosed the views and dispositions of Philip, thought of fortifying his right of succession by an alliance with England. He had

called him to the crown of Spain, he could not be persuaded was valid; Charles being only tenant for life of his kingdom. All this, says St. Simon, was oddly arranged in his head: but there it was.

Whatever may be thought of this scheme of reasoning, he gave sufficient proof afterwards, that he was no hypocrite; that the sophistry he practised upon others, he had first successfully practised upon himself. So strongly was he persuaded that he was no better than an usurper of the crown of Spain, that, having no other means of quieting his conscience, he abdicated in favour of his son; and notwithstanding he had found his retirement extremely wearisome, and was little pleased with the situation he filled in the eyes of the world, of a private man, having in reality no direct personal share in the government, he could hardly, though strongly prompted by the secret wishes of his heart, be prevailed upon to resume his crown.

persuaded himself the family of Hanover was placed in circumstances similar to his own, and would readily accede to the proposal of a mutual guarantee.*

Lord Stair, who resided as English ambassador, had had access to him before the death of the late King; and had made him promises conformable to these views.

His inclinations in private life accorded with his political system.

* Duclos, and other French writers, strongly disapprove of the Regent's connection with England. They would have preferred, it should seem, an alliance with Spain, or at least an amicable leaning on that side. But what would have been the effect of such a conduct? The Spanish minister would have been encouraged to persevere in all his visionary schemes, and France, directly or indirectly supporting him, would have shared in the calamities they would have occasioned. This, France was little able to bear. Just recovering from a long and unfortunate war, its finances in the greatest disorder, amidst the rash and ill-advised experiments of Law, it must have endured the most ruinous consequences. By uniting with England, the Regent preserved the tranquillity of Europe, and kept his country clear of wars, and the expenses of them. He did an essential service to Spain, by bringing the career of its minister to a close, and thereby saving it in a great measure from the effects of his inconsiderate ambition. I cannot therefore see any thing unwise in the policy of the Regent; and I regard only the immediate advantage of France—I do not speak of the private, but perfectly just considerations by which he was influenced. The engagements he laboured to maintain were no less essential to the peace and liberties of Europe, than agreeable to his personal interests.

The hard task of dissimulation and constraint, he had been obliged to practise during the last years of the deceased King, the gloomy and austere form his own religion had assumed, the noise of theological controversy which was perpetually disturbing him, together with his propensity to a life of ease and pleasure, gave him a taste for the religious and civil liberty which prevailed in England.*

His prime favourite and adviser l'Abbé Dubois, afterwards Cardinal, who had been some time in this country during the preceding reign, and had formed many connections here, seconded by his influence the partiality of the Regent.

England, on its side, closed with these dispositions. The popular cry was to support the house of Austria against France: but the ministers justly considered there was no object of so much importance, as to counteract the designs of the Pre-

* He used to take great pleasure in relating an anecdote of a French nobleman, who came over to London in the reign of Charles II. The nobleman fell in love with one of the King's mistresses; and all the King could do, he could not hinder him from making parade of his competition. The King forbade him the court: but the nobleman did not mind that; he followed the lady to the playhouse and all public places. Charles had no expedient to get rid of a triumphant rival, but to request Lewis XIV. to recall him. Lewis effected in London, over one of his subjects, what the King of England could not do. The nobleman returned to tremble at Versailles.

tender, and his adherents. In this point of view, they had little to hope or fear from Austria: but France was the quarter to which the Jacobites, both at home and abroad, principally looked for assistance. An alliance with the French government would effectually confound their hopes, particularly if one of the conditions was to be, that the Pretender should be sent out of the French territories.

Yet so deeply is the maxim impressed on the French counsels, that the invariable policy of France is to annoy and weaken England, that not the concurrence of all these circumstances, the political interests of the Regent, the private bias of his mind, the overtures of the English ministry, could prevail against it.

As soon as the Duke of Orleans was invested with the full authority of Regent, he was far from shewing any zealous friendship for the English government, but, on the contrary, connived at preparations which the Pretender was carrying on in the French ports for the invasion of England.

It was not till the complete failure of this attempt, that the ambassador of George I. was treated with cordiality, or even with respect by the French ministry.*

* A la cour on est tout étonné;—les plus sages commencent à traiter le chevalier de St. George de prétendant. Il y a deux jours qu'il étoit le roi d'Angleterre par tout, et tout le

There was a party in France particularly hostile to the alliance with England,—the politicians trained up in the maxims of the late reign. These would have broken off all connection with the house of Hanover, and declared decidedly in favour of the Pretender. The clamour and intrigues of this party had no small effect in producing the coldness and wavering of the Regent.

The rebellion, which was but recently suppressed, the hopes of the Jacobites not yet extinguished, created anxiety in the British ministry. This anxiety was increased by the preparations which appeared in the ports of Spain, as the bigoted disposition of the King was well known.* They were led to strengthen themselves by alliances.

monde avoit levé le masque. Il n'y avoit plus un seul François, quasi personne de la cour, qui mettoit le pied chez moi. —Lord Stair's Journal.

* The Duke declared to Mr. Stanhope, that his Catholic Majesty was so earnest for the extirpation of the protestant religion, that in several letters that had passed between the King of Spain and the Emperor upon this subject, the King proposes, in case of necessity, to sell the domains of his crown to the highest bidder, and dispose of all the employments for life in the Indies to the best purchaser, for promoting this scheme: and particularly, in one of his letters he made use of this extraordinary expression, *Je vendrai même ma chemise.*

Benjamin Keene to the Duke of Newcastle, giving a confidential account of the discoveries made by Ripperda. Papers published by Mr. Coxe, annexed to his Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

An alliance with France had appeared the best security against the Pretender; but the sudden coldness of the Regent, as long as the exiled family had any prospect of success, had excited doubts as to his real dispositions. The court of London therefore thought it expedient to enter into a closer union with the Emperor, who on his side readily closed with any overtures of this kind, apprehending the preparations of Spain had his dominions for their object. A treaty was concluded between this Prince and the King of England in May, 1716, in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's possessions without restriction, and agreed upon the succours to be mutually afforded in case either was attacked.

The coldness however of the Regent lasted no longer, than an opinion prevailed in the French court of the insecurity of the family of Hanover. This being now firmly established, he, notwithstanding the murmurs of the old court party, and the studied delays interposed by those who secretly favoured them, by the zealous agency of l'Abbé Dubois, concluded a treaty with England in 1717, to which the States-General became parties, and which therefore received the name of the triple alliance.

In this, the possession of the King of England was fully guaranteed, and the eventual claims of the Regent were guaranteed in return.

The Pretender was to withdraw beyond the

Alps. The state of things established by the treaties of Utrecht and Radstat, was to be maintained undisturbed.

England and France appeared thus united against the disturbers of the public peace.

Holland was a party to the treaty, concurring in the same views. She was indissolubly bound to the protestant interest of England.

The leaning of the Italian states was the other way; but the only one of them that could carry any weight into any contest that might arise, was the Duke of Savoy, whom the treaty of Utrecht had created King of Sicily.

This Prince, besides the common motives of religion, had particular reasons for regarding the settlement of the family of Hanover with sentiments of hostility. He was married to a granddaughter of Charles I. and a possibility existed, which he could not forget, of a claim arising from that circumstance to the crown of England.

As however he valued himself on the singular artifice and refinement of his politics, it was often not easy to distinguish to which side he inclined. When the attack of the Spaniards brought on a war between the Emperor and King of Spain, he negociated with the two courts, making offers to both, and listening to proposals from them in his turn. He was very eager to deceive, and exposed himself to the hazard of being deceived himself.

The powers of the North formed a system by themselves, which only partially and occasionally mixed with the general one of Europe.

Sweden had indeed taken an active and important part in the troubles of Germany before the peace of Munster; but it was only lately that Russia had risen to the situation of a considerable state, with a view to the great balance of European interests.

Two extraordinary men were at the head of these several monarchies, Peter I. and Charles XII. both for different reasons indisposed to the English government, but at that time too much animated against each other, to permit the supposition that they would ever unite for the purpose of interfering in the concerns of the Southern states.

Turkey was in a situation to create a considerable diversion against the Emperor on his eastern frontiers, and was actually at war with him. But the success which attended the Austrian arms, under the command of Prince Eugene, promised a speedy termination to it.

Such was the general state of the European powers, at the time of the first enterprise of Alberoni.

I do not mention Germany, as no movement appeared among its Princes, with an exception of the Emperor, who was attacked.

The strength and the resources of the Spanish monarchy, may be considered in a four-fold view.

The military and naval force actually on foot, the amount of its disposable population, the state of its finances, and the genius and character of the people for the purposes of war.

A war had burned in the bosom of Spain, from nearly the beginning of the century, till within a few years before Alberoni was placed at the head of affairs. Philip had had to maintain his crown by force of arms. He had been by turns victorious and defeated, and necessarily must have had considerable armies on foot.

Alberoni therefore probably found the military establishment of Spain at a higher point, than if the kingdom had enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

He is said to have had at one period of his ministry, an army of eighty thousand infantry, and twenty-two thousand horse. A prodigious force before Europe had seen those myriads of soldiers, that have since been brought into the field!

But whatever might have been the effects of the war on the army, the navy certainly suffered in the course of it; indeed it was nearly destroyed. Alberoni did all he could to re-establish it. He assembled, we are told, sixty ships of the line, thirty frigates, and twenty galleys.

But a navy does not consist either in numbers of ships, or of men collected to serve on board of them. There must be naval habits, experience, hardihood, skill, and science. These can be acquired only at sea. A commercial marine is the

regular nursery for a military one. Perhaps there can be no other.*

The population of Spain, at present below the proportion of less-favoured countries, was yet lower at the period to which this history refers. It must have been diminished by the war, that was scarcely terminated, and, which had extended its ravages to all the provinces.

The war, in this point of view, was injurious to the military strength of the kingdom.

If it had augmented the numbers of the army, it at the same time intercepted the supply of recruits.

Population had been for some centuries on the decline: various have been the causes assigned. The banishment of eighty thousand Jewish families by Ferdinand the Catholic, and of above ninety thousand Moors at a later period, contributed, no doubt, to this effect.

The celibacy of the clergy, the number of monasteries of both sexes, the spirit of ecclesiastical persecution; all these may be enumerated, and many more circumstances added.

But causes do not fall within the province of

* But human affairs are governed by such a complicated variety of circumstances, every day producing new, or until then unperceived causes; and the thing acted upon, Man, is so different at different times, that in speculations of this kind it is extremely unsafe to conclude, because such a thing never yet happened, therefore it never can.

the historian. It is for him to deliver what he finds recorded, that the entire population of Spain did not exceed, in 1723, seven millions six hundred and twenty-five thousand souls. It was less some years earlier; so that it is probable, in the time of Alberoni's government, there were not above twelve hundred thousand persons capable of bearing arms.

The finances were in the greatest disorder. The taxes by which the revenue was raised, were for the most part injudicious, and perpetual restraints upon industry and commerce. This was the effect of a number of monopolies, possessed by the Sovereign, which indeed produced some money in their immediate operation, but were injurious to the revenue in its only legitimate source, the wealth of the people.

The taxes were farmed, and the farmers did not pay a just proportion to the government; at the same time that their rapacity carried distress and desolation through all the provinces.

That branch of the revenue which consisted in duties on imposts, payable at the ports, was defrauded by compositions made with the merchants.

By these and other abuses, the annual income, at the accession of Philip, was reduced to 416,616*l.* English money.

While Orri was at the head of the finances, he succeeded in remedying many of these abuses, and

by his exertions raised the income to two millions sterling.

The scheme of Macanaz, which has been mentioned, and which had for one of its objects, to check an evil that was perpetually undermining the revenue, by withdrawing the lands of the kingdom from contributing to its supply, would probably have been encouraged by Alberoni, in the situation he afterwards attained.

In the interval which elapsed between the dismissal of Orri and his elevation, the disorders which the wise administration of the former had partly banished, again appeared. The abuses in the receipt were accompanied by others equally flagrant in the expenditure.

Assignments on the provinces were a mode in which numbers of the nobility received pensions, and so much of the revenue never reached the royal coffers.

The consequence of scanty supply on one side, and waste on the other, was, that the public income, far from being able to keep pace with any extraordinary expenses, was not adequate to the ordinary expenditure of the government.

The immediate object of Alberoni was, no doubt, to procure money for the variety of expensive enterprises in which he engaged. He therefore chiefly practised the lower and more mechanical part of the science of a financier, which con-

sists in drawing the largest supplies possible from present sources, inattentive to the production of new ones, or the enlargement of the old. He was however the author of some plans formed upon larger principles, and looking to distant results. His speculations were not without a certain grandeur and magnificence, but perhaps not adapted to the circumstances of the Spanish monarchy.

He meditated the increase of the commerce carried on between Acapulco and China, and the eastern regions of Asia, through the intervention of the Philippine Islands. Thus Spanish America would become a chain to bind together the eastern and ancient worlds, in an intercourse of industry and exchange of riches. The commerce by Acapulco was confined to an annual ship, or at most a few vessels. In coming from the Philippines, the ship cannot stretch across by a direct course, but must proceed considerably northwards, in order to fall in with the westerly winds that are to blow it over ;* so that from the time it leaves the islands, it does not see land till it reaches the coast of California ; and here there is no harbour which it can put into.

Alberoni wished to have a diligent survey made of the Californian shores, in hopes of finding such an harbour. Nor did he stop here. He was anxious to have the immense unexplored tracks

* Lord Anson's Voyage.

that stretch north and north-east admitted to a share of this eastern traffic. Their rude produce was to be exchanged for the more fashioned and elegant productions of the East.

For this purpose, he encouraged the Jesuit missionaries settled in those parts, to multiply their establishments, and pursue wider tracks of investigation.

Notwithstanding the increasing demands on the Spanish treasury, occasioned by his European schemes, he was willing to make considerable disbursements for the promotion of these North-American enterprises.

So intent was he upon the success of his speculations in this quarter, that a man of great wealth in New Spain, offering eighty thousand dollars for the government of California, he refused the offer, apprehending such an appointment would be a sacrifice of ultimate advantage to temporary convenience.*

These were not the contemplations of a little mind. But the world heard only of his extravagancies; and undertakings really calculated to expand his fame, were little known.

I have observed, however, that perhaps they were not adapted to the circumstances of the Spanish monarchy. They would have had the ultimate effect of opening new markets; but Spain

* Natural and Civil History of California.

was not able to supply those she was already possessed of. Her American kingdoms were almost entirely replenished by the manufactories of other countries. To have therefore her domestic industry invigorated, so that she might carry on the trade of her own dominions, was what she principally wanted. Alberoni did something for this purpose. He induced Ripperda, a Dutchman, to establish a cloth-manufactory in Spain, and bring over workmen from Holland, who might instruct the Spaniards, and be the means of planting among them habits of useful labour.

One of the causes why the supply of America languished, might be that it was confined to the port of Cadiz. He thought of throwing open the trade to all the ports, as it has been done since, and trying the effects of general competition.

Thus far he went in labouring to extend the commercial industry and prosperity of Spain, in opening sources of wealth, which would afford him no present supply, but might flow out for the benefit of a future generation. But from the character and objects of his ambition, he could not confine himself to these, or indeed make them the principal objects of his attention. It was a great deal he did not entirely neglect them, that he sometimes pursued them to the disregard of immediate emolument.

With a view to this immediate emolument, he either introduced the royal monopoly of tobacco,

or established regulations to render it more complete and productive.

These regulations occasioned no small disturbances in the colonies.

A proclamation appeared at the Havannah, commanding all the farmers to bring the produce of their tobacco-fields immediately to the King's magazines, and forbidding every private person to engage in the sale of this article.

A general insurrection was the consequence. The Havannah was besieged by multitudes of people of all colours; the garrison was overpowered; the governor's house plundered; himself and principal officers escaped being massacred, only by taking refuge in the castle; their lives were spared, on condition of their returning home in the ships which brought them. The inhabitants sent a deputation to Madrid. The end was, that the government was obliged to yield, and a new governor was appointed.

The minister had no less difficulties to contend with at home. He could not secure the monopoly in question, without establishing custom-houses that should guard against a contraband introduction of the commodity: and to render this scheme of custom-houses at all availing, it was necessary there should be one in every port and frontier town in the kingdom. Now there were several provinces that claimed the privilege of having no custom-house established within their limits.

Alberoni disregarded this alleged exemption. The people of Biscay flew to arms. The inhabitants of Navarre and Arragon followed their example. He was obliged to send troops to quell the insurgents; and thus his purpose suffered a double defeat. Soldiers were kept at home, he would have wished to employ abroad; and more spent in paying them, than was ever gained by their presence.

He applied himself, with more success, to remedy the evils he found in the administration of the revenues.

Intendants were sent to the ports; and the fraudulent compositions, which had diminished by one third the produce of the customs, precluded.

The taxes were farmed out anew to the highest bidder; by which, the revenue was in several places considerably increased.

The assignments on the provinces, by which much of the inland revenue had been intercepted, were withdrawn. The grants so made were reduced to their true characters of pensions, which were made payable at Madrid, and subject to examination as to the reasons for which they had issued, and other circumstances. Many of them not being able to abide this test, were suppressed.

There is a circumstance of more importance to any schemes of ambition, which a Sovereign or minister may form, than even the military or naval force he may have on foot, or the state of his

treasury, and that is, the genius and character of his people, as turned to warlike enterprises.

The causes which kindle a military spirit in a people, and which, on the other hand, damp or extinguish it, are often of a nature to escape the most vigilant observation.

History records instances of nations that seemed to have lost all ardour or enterprise in war, suddenly assuming the most formidable attitude: and how this has happened, it is nearly impossible to distinguish.

The character of a single man has sometimes accomplished this revolution. Sometimes a train of circumstances has led to this result, which observers were inclined to think most contrary to it.

Examples abound, of nations falling, in a manner equally unaccountable, from the height of military glory, to a state of weakness and dismay.*

This was in a great measure the case of the Spanish nation.

* None is more striking than one furnished by our history. The English, in the reign of Henry V. were famed for valour. They gained the most splendid victories, and were near achieving the entire conquest of France. In the very next reign, on the appearance of the person known by the name of the Maid of Orleans, an universal terror seized the nation. Crowds of deserters were hiding themselves in holes and corners. There is a proclamation directed to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, and those of other counties, to apprehend those who concealed themselves *for fear of the Maid.*—Henry's History of England.

The Spaniards, for some time before the Emperor Charles V. and during his reign, were perhaps considered as the most warlike people in Europe. Their infantry was a rampart of strength in the day of battle. Spain produced some of the most distinguished generals and captains of their time.

This military character was not extinguished at the death of Charles. The reputation of the Spanish troops continued high, during the reign of his successor. The Dukes of Alva and Parma often led them to victory. Yet, perhaps, at this period, commenced the decline of the military spirit.

Nothing accelerates this decline more than a state of things, where enterprise succeeds enterprise; and no splendid or decisive result is obtained, where the spirit and vigour of a nation that would bound forward with promptitude to some great and glorious object, is harassed by variety, and gradually relaxed and deadened by minute and ignoble details.

This was very much the character of the reign of Philip II. The long inglorious wars in the Low Countries, in which the fortunes of his house stooped to the genius of the family of Orange, the failure of the armaments against England, spread gloom and discouragement over Spain. The imagination, not kept alive by the noise of victories and the glare of conquests, saw nothing

fascinating in arms. A languor, terminating in imbecility, crept over the counsels of the cabinet, and extended to those who were to carry them into execution.

Still the Spanish infantry enjoyed some reputation. This was finally destroyed by the battle of Rocroy, fought about the middle of the seventeenth century, which saw this infantry entirely broken and dispersed by the young Prince of Condé.

From this period, the monarchy continued a large decrepid body, till the extinction of the Austrian race of Kings, in the person of Charles II.

The war which succeeded, though it, no doubt, thinned the population of Spain, was favourable to the military character of the inhabitants. Some good troops were formed. The people, who were not strangers to the dangers and tumults of war, were more disposed to become soldiers, and better adapted to a military life. No great generals had sprung up; but, on the whole, the circumstances were more propitious to the designs of the Spanis minister, than if he had been in a situation to attempt the execution of them, precisely at the beginning of the century.

The fleet which sailed from Barcelona, consisted of twelve ships of the line, and a hundred transports, carrying eight thousand infantry, and six hundred cavalry.

This was no very formidable expedition, considering the time and noise of preparation.

To the troops were attached fifty pieces of battering cannon and twelve field-peices; provisions and ammunition were laid in store for three months.

The squadron was under the command of the Marquis de Mari. The Marquis de Leide was general of the forces.

Such a number of men could not attempt any very considerable enterprise; but the kingdom of Naples was extremely unprovided with the means of defence.

The Emperor was at war with the Turks, and had withdrawn most of his troops from Italy. Handfuls of Spaniards had landed on the coast, and made predatory incursions into the country with success. Swarms of emissaries in the pay of Alberoni, were labouring to excite a popular insurrection in favour of his schemes. He had particularly applied himself to gain over the poor ecclesiastics and mendicant friars. This he easily did by scattering money among them; and he trusted very much to their influence over a superstitious people. The malcontents were observed flocking to the capital, and the hotel of the Pope's Nuncio, Vicentini, was the place in which they used to hold their meetings. Insomuch that the Imperial Viceroy, Count Thaun, judged it

necessary to seize his papers, and order himself to quit the kingdom. At the same time, the revenues of a number of ecclesiastics dependent on the See of Rome, were laid under sequestration.

But while these apprehensions prevailed in Naples, and these measures were taking to diminish the danger, the Spaniards, on the 22d of August, landed in Sardinia, and were entire masters of the island by the end of the ensuing month.

Nothing could exceed the facility of the conquest, but the insignificance of the object gained.

Sardinia is a poor, uncultivated island. There rages a sort of pestilence here in summer,* that would occasion the greatest mortality among any troops that should be left. It could not be of use to Spain; it would prove rather a burthen.

It seems to be a rule, in the conduct of plans of war and ambition, never to attempt any arduous or decisive enterprise but with the promise of such results as, if obtained, may be deemed a sufficient compensation for the risk incurred, and the alarm excited.

Alberoni flagrantly offended against every part of this rule. He carried on preparations for a length of time, with much noise and ostentation, and created the most eager curiosity, mixed with fear, in all parts of Europe. What do these preparations produce? an expedition of between

* Young's Travels in France and Italy.

eight and nine thousand men: and what does this handful of men accomplish? the conquest of a miserable island. Then let the consequences be weighed. Spain plunges into a war, in the first instance, with the Emperor; but from the views of other powers, and the engagements they had entered into, she would probably have a contest to maintain with the most considerable part of Europe. She would find herself entangled in a labyrinth; and at every step she made, the intricacy and confusion would increase upon her. Thus, at the opening of his ambitious career, did Alberoni shew his little capacity for what he undertook. He was at this time in no small perplexity and alarm from the illness of the King, which had assumed a dangerous aspect to the physicians, and appeared still more dangerous to the King himself. It partook very much of the nature of an hypochondriac disorder. It originated from the gloomy and exhausting seclusion in which he lived with the Queen. He became a prey to the most fantastic terrors. It was a perpetual transition from his confessor to the Queen, and from the Queen to his confessor. In this state of mind he was led to make his will.

The report got abroad, that in this will he appointed the Queen to be regent after his death, and Alberoni her sole assistant and adviser. This occasioned much dissatisfaction among all orders of men.

The latter encountered an adventure, which must have been not a little mortifying to his vanity. The Queen and he, aware how easy it was to make impressions on the feeble understanding of the King, still further enfeebled by his illness, redoubled their care and vigilance to prevent any one from approaching him, who was not in their own immediate confidence.

It happened, that the Duke D'Escalone, the King's major-domo, came to perform the duties of his office. The servant at the door of the apartment, half opening it, told him he had orders not to let him in. "You are an impertinent fellow," said the Duke; and pushing the door open, entered.

The apartment was long and narrow. The King's bed stood at the extremity, opposite the door. At the bed-side was the Queen, and Alberoni standing near her.

The Duke at the time had a fit of the gout, and advanced slowly, supporting himself with his crutch. As soon as Alberoni saw him, he went up to him in a hurry, and insisted upon his leaving the room. The Duke refusing, he took him by the arm, as if to compel him. The Duke, in the little struggle that took place, fell into an arm-chair that was standing by. As soon as he had recovered himself, he got up in a great passion, called Alberoni a paltry rascal, and applied his crutch to his shoulders. The Queen did not offer to in-

terpose, maintaining the greatest composure during the whole transaction. Alberoni, ashamed of the treatment he had received, wishing the matter to be made as little public as possible, carried no farther his resentment, than to get the Duke banished for a short time to his estate.

As soon as the King was well enough to appear to perform an act of government, he was appointed Bishop of Malaga; but before all the forms of his appointment were gone through, the rich Archbishopric of Seville became vacant by the death of Cardinal Arias. He eagerly grasped at this more considerable perferment; but the approbation of the Pope was necessary.

The Pope was under the greatest perplexity and embarrassment. The conduct of his Nuncio at Naples had created suspicions in the Imperial court, that he secretly favoured the views of the Spanish minister. When it was pretended, that Spain had it in contemplation to direct its arms against the infidels, he had granted the King an indulto, to raise two millions and a half of ducats on the ecclesiastical estates in the Indies, and five hundred thousand on those of the clergy in Spain, for defraying the expenses of this pious warfare. But instead of directing the Spanish arms against the infidels, Alberoni had in reality acted as their ally, by attacking the Emperor, who was at war with them; still he availed himself of the Pope's grant, and levied the entire contribu-

tion from the church, as if he was fulfilling the condition for which the grant had been made.

Count Gallas, Imperial ambassador at Rome, made the loudest and most pressing remonstrances upon this subject. He insisted, the Pope should immediately issue a categorical revocation of the indulto, which had been so egregiously abused. The Pope did not know what part to take. When he talked of strong measures against Alberoni, of recalling his Nuncio from Madrid, Cardinal Aqueviva, the Spanish minister, would terrify him on the other side, by threatening him with an entire rupture with his court, assuring him, no future Nuncio would be received in Spain. The Pope, in the agony of his embarrassment, burst into tears on one occasion, and declared he had certainly damned himself, when he had created Alberoni a Cardinal. Cardinal Giudice, who happened to be present, dryly said, "he would be happy to attend his Holiness any where but to hell."

The truth was, the Pope entertained the most cordial hatred against Alberoni. His promotion had been extorted from him. He would gladly have done any thing to mortify or thwart him; but he prudently reflected, that the object of his animosity was prime minister of one of the most considerable kingdoms attached to the communion of Rome, and he in some measure restrained and dissembled his feelings.

He was however obliged to yield so far to the Imperial ambassador, as to snatch the Archbishopric of Seville from the rapacity of Alberoni. He insisted on the canons which forbid the translation from one see to another, till after the expiration of three years.

Alberoni was not at all satisfied with this pious allegation of the canons. The canons, he was aware, might easily to be construed so as to answer his views, and the Imperial ambassador had more to do in his disappointment, than all the canons together. He was thrown into transports of rage, and had the folly to exclaim, that the Pope, the Emperor, and even the King and Queen of Spain, would answer for it before God.

The Pope thought to pacify him, by informing him, through the channel of the good Père D'Aubenton, that as some difficulty might arise about his residing in quality of Bishop of Malaga, he would put him completely at his ease. I dispense, said he, with your residence for six months. The canons allow you to be absent for six more; so you may reside where you please the whole twelve.

The success of the expedition against Sardinia inspired the Spanish minister with additional confidence in his projects upon Italy. This success, inconsiderable as it was, he might in a great measure attribute to the Turkish war, which employed the arms of the Emperor at a distance, and prevented him from turning his attention to the quar-

ter in which the Spaniards had attacked him. It became therefore an object to the minister to prolong this war.

He had no expedient for this purpose, but to persuade the Turks to enter upon a new campaign, notwithstanding the disasters of the last. So eagerly did he precipitate himself into this course of policy, as quite to forget his character of a dignitary of the catholic church, and the respect for the public opinion of Europe, which this character imposed upon him.

There lived in seeming retirement at a convent near Paris an Hungarian chief of the name of Ragotzi. He had been at the head of an unsuccesful insurrection in his native country, and had taken refuge in France, a little before the death of Lewis XIV. He appeared wholly engaged in devotional exercises; but it was not doubted, he would readily lend himself as an instrument, to distress or perplex the government that had banished him as a rebel.

Prince Cellamere, Spanish ambassador, was instructed to communicate with him, and Ragotzi, after a few conferences, disposed himself to set out for the dominions of the Porte.

He had an interview with a person deputed by the Grand Signor in one of the islands of Hieres, off the coast of France, and soon after made a public entry into Adrianople.

Alberoni corresponded with him by means of a

Colonel Boisiniene, sent him supplies of money and arms, and made use of his agency to accomplish his purpose with the Turkish government.

The Imperial ambassador at Rome got a detailed account of these proceedings posted up on the Vatican. So lively was the indignation excited in the Roman populace, that the person of Cardinal Aqueviva was not safe.

The King of England and Regent of France, already confederated for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, entered into fresh negociations for securing so desirable an object. They wished, as far as it could be compassed, to root up all causes of future jealousies and disturbances. Taking the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt for their ground-work, they however deemed it expedient to depart somewhat from them. This new scheme of pacification was to embrace the Emperor and King of Spain. The Emperor was to be induced to make a formal renunciation of his claims to the dominions in possession of Philip, and particularly of the claim to the crown of Spain, which he affected to retain. It was necessary to purchase his assent to this part of the treaty.

The Island of Sicily, divided only by a narrow streight from his kingdom of Naples, wsa a perpetual allurement and temptation in his eyes. It had been given, at the peace of Utrecht, to the

Duke of Savoy; but as the Duke had received it merely as a boon, the powers that gave it conceived themselves authorised to withdraw it. It was to be made over to the Emperor, and Sardinia in lieu of it to the Duke.

On the other hand, the King of Spain was to renounce his claims to the Emperor's dominions in Italy. As a compensation, Parma and Placentia and Tuscany were to be secured to the children of his second marriage. Philip, who had been instructed to consider these possessions as his indisputable right, and who fondly clung to claims, he regarded inseparable from his crown, would, it was expected, not easily be persuaded to come into the arrangements agreed upon by the mediating powers.

So zealous was the King of England to prevent hostilities and disturbances in Europe, that he authorised the Regent to convey to him, through some secret channel, an offer of Gibraltar, as the price of his accession.

The person employed by the Regent to be the secret bearer of this offer, was a man of the name of Louville, who was well known at the court of Madrid.

Every thing was arranged to shew the sincerity* of the King of England. An order under his

* Yet Marmontel, in his posthumous history of the Regency, is pleased to call the offer of the court of London, a gross artifice; and expresses his wonder the Regent did not

sign-manual to the British governor, to deliver up the fortress, was to be conveyed to Philip: and it was only upon receiving this order, that Philip was to give his signature to the proposed pacification in exchange. A Spanish general was to march at the head of an army, and under pretence of summoning the town to surrender, transmit to the governor the order of his master. The British garrison was to withdraw to Tanjier.

see through it. He indeed assigns scarcely any thing that can be called a reason for this strong assertion. He says, Lord Stanhope, who communicated the offer to the Regent, knew it never would reach Philip, as Alberoni would shut up every avenue to his presence. Lord Stanhope, however, set out a little after in person for Madrid. He was not therefore without some notion of the efficacy of negociation. The governor of Gibraltar would have produced the order of the King to justify himself to the English public, and the King would have been loaded with the crime. What stronger argument can there be, to show the sincerity of both King and ministers, than that the latter were willing to incur this risk? They might have been impeached, and probably would have been so, but the governor must have obeyed the order of the King, and Gibraltar would have been in the hands of the Spaniards, before Parliament could have set any inquiry on foot. Duclos, who seems to have liked the English not much more than Marmontel, terminates his account of this transaction in these words:—"So that it was owing to an insolent minister (meaning Alberoni) that the only opportunity Spain has had of recovering this fortress, was lost." He does not impeach the sincerity of England.

The narrow dislike that runs through Marmontel's work is more observable, as he lived in times of decent, often polite and amicable intercourse between the two nations.

It would have singularly gratified the Spanish nation to regain possession of Gibraltar. Their national pride had long suffered by the spectacle of a garrison of northern islanders, established in a corner of their monarchy. The same spirit of national pride rendered this fortress extremely interesting to the feelings of Englishmen. They attached an importance to it superior to the consideration of its utility. Few things would have been more unpopular in England, than the surrender in question. The desire which animated the English cabinet to maintain tranquillity among nations, must have been indeed ardent, to induce them to make the proposal.

But schemes of war and conquest had taken entire possession of the mind of Alberoni. No offers or proposals could prevail upon him to discard them

Scarcely had Louville set his foot in Madrid, when he received an order to depart immediately, and not to presume to approach the palace. Two hours after, Alberoni came and paid him a visit. Louville warmly remonstrated on the order which had been sent to him. Perhaps it is not known, said he, that I have letters from the Duke of Orleans, written with his own hands, intended for the immediate perusal of the King of Spain; saying this, he produced the letters. Alberoni affected to be surprised. This indeed happens very unfortunately; but what can I do? It is believed I have influence here, but I have none.

A day or two passed. Louville suspecting some stratagem, resolved to place himself where the King was to pass, in hopes of attracting his notice. Alberoni, informed of this, took care to have the King on his passage encircled by a cluster of his own creatures, so that in the crowd he could distinguish no one.

The order for the immediate departure of Louville was reiterated, accompanied with a menace of violence, if he did not instantly obey. Louville returned to Paris without effecting any thing.

No sooner had the conquest of Sardinia been terminated, than Alberoni recommenced preparations on a much larger scale than before. Three thousand men were left to garrison the island. All the transports returned to Spain, and were to be ready for a new embarkation the summer after. To make this embarkation the more formidable, ships were purchased in the ports of all the maritime nations that would sell them; seamen engaged all along the coast of Italy, in Genoa, Leghorn, and other places. Neutral vessels were seized and compelled to serve for hire as transports.

The greatest activity prevailed at the same time in the military department. A foundery for cannon was established at Pampeluna, and thousands of bombs and balls continually transported to Catalo[redacted]azines were formed; stores of arms

and every thing necessary for the equipment of a soldier provided. Various means were contrived to increase the standing force of the kingdom.

The mountains of Catalonia, branching from the Pyrences, were inhabited by a race of savage banditti, known by the name of Miquelets. They carried a case of pistols in their belt, and a dagger at their side. They were extremely formidable to travellers, and often descended from their mountains to plunder the surrounding country. This hardy kind of life, and these predatory habits, seemed to fit them for irregular, skirmishing warfare. At the termination of the war in Catalonia, they had been joined by multitudes of deserters from the several armies, English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Dutch, and Portuguese, to the number of no less than five thousand.

Alberoni conceived the project of drawing soldiers from this wild, miscellaneous assemblage. He invited them by proclamation to enter into the service; and six regiments were formed out of them.

The mountaineers of the Siena Morena, hunters, excellent marksmen, and accustomed to the management of horses, were embodied into two more.

The people of Spain, admiring the enterprising spirit of their minister, and pleased with the glare of military glory he seemed labouring to diffuse over them, contributed largely, by voluntary exertions, to second his ambition. It may be [redacted] this

glare of military glory reconciles nations to almost every sacrifice. The half-starved inhabitant of the falling cottage forgets the misery and desolation which surrounds him, when he hears of victories obtained, and conquests achieved by the armies of his country.

The provinces raised and equipped regiments at their own expense; sixteen of foot and eight of horse were procured by this means. They rivalled each other in the display of their several troops, and the quality of the men who composed them. To promote and increase this emulation, their respective arms and names were engraved on the caps of the infantry, and the mountings of the cavalry.

Money, too, was raised by voluntary contribution:—but never has any great amount been produced through this channel.

Alberoni derived some supply from other expedients. The levy on ecclesiastical property, which the Pope had authorised for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, continued, in defiance of revocations and remonstrances. All persons who had been concerned in the management of the revenue, underwent a regular taxation.

By all these means, the preparations of Spain had assumed a respectable appearance by the spring of 1718. Catalonia was again appointed as the place of general assemblage. Fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse were encamped on

the plains of Vic, ready to march to Barcelona, for the purpose of embarkation.

England and France, who had formed the resolution of resisting every attempt to disturb the general peace, beheld with concern these movements, which could have no other object, but some fresh aggres ion on the part of Spain; and became more earnest to complete the treaty they had in contemplation. L'Abbé Dubois came to London, and held frequent conferences with the ministers. To model and digest a treaty, which embraced such a variety of interfering claims, and was intended to provide against so many contingencies, was a work of great labour and difficulty. It is said, before the articles to compose it were finally agreed upon, eighty different times was it cast anew; eighty times, the formality of signing and sealing repeated.

England and France were the only two parties, in the first instance, to this treaty. It was a matter concerted between them. It flowed from their pacific views and dispositions. The accession of all the other powers, whose interests might be affected, was to be gradually obtained. It was even proposed not to communicate it to the Emperor, till it had undergone the inspection of the King of Spain, that the appearance of impartiality might not be departed from; the accession of the two sovereigns be recorded at the same time.

The States-General did not accede till some time after; yet they and the Emperor, as well as England and France, appear as original parties, and the treaty was denominated the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor's plenipotentiary in London immediately signed it.

Monteleone, Spanish ambassador there, did not fail to inform Alberoni of what was going forward, and repeatedly assured him, he must expect England would give the most determined opposition to his designs. But such was the infatuation of the Spanish minister in believing, that what he wished would encounter no obstacle in the accomplishment, that this information had no effect upon him. He treated the whole as the fancy of Monteleone, and was little pleased with the frequency and earnestness of his admonitions.

The treaty was signed on the part of England, France, and the Emperor, the beginning of August, 1718.

The Duke of Savoy, who was a principal in the arrangements it contained, who was to cede his island of Sicily to the Emperor, and receive Sardinia by way of compensation, could not be well pleased with this exchange. He had recourse to all the refinements of intrigue and diplomatic chicanery, in order to raise his terms of the bargain. He delayed his accession, till the progress of events rendered it a matter of necessity. Had he continued his wavering, temporizing policy, he would

have seen Sicily snatched from him, and obtained nothing in lieu of it.

The accession of the States-General was retarded as well by their extreme caution, as the dilatory forms of their government. Lord Cadogan was dispatched to the Hague, to combat the objections that might arise to it, and infuse, if possible, a little activity into the Dutch counsels.

Spain was highly favoured in the arrangements of the treaty, yet she could not be persuaded to accede to it. This reluctance proceeded from the rash ambition of Alberoni. No exertion was spared by England or France to overcome it. The generous offers of the former, and the mission of Louville from the latter, have been mentioned. The ambassadors of the two courts at Madrid, Col. Stanhope, and the Duke de St. Aignan, applied in conjunction all the means they could devise. The Regent, thinking St. Aignan too young, or hoping, from the co-operation of another French envoy, what St. Aignan alone could not accomplish, sent the Marquis de Nancré to second him.

As soon as the Quadruple Alliance had been signed, Lord Stanhope, one of the secretaries of state, set out for Madrid, to add his influence and solicitations to all that had been used without success before.

But two months before his arrival, the Spanish expedition had sailed from Barcelona. It had proceeded to its destination.

This destination had long been a matter of speculation and conjecture. Some further attempt on the Emperor's territories might be supposed to be intended. He was the only Prince in Europe, with whom Spain was declaredly at war.

There were persons who believed the Spanish minister meditated a great and decisive blow against the pirates of Barbary. They waged incessant war with Spain. There was no part of the coast which was not in continual dread of their armaments. Bodies of them would often land, plunder the country, and carry off the inhabitants into captivity. Their incursions had contributed to the depopulation of the maritime provinces.

After having driven the Spaniards from most of their settlements on the coast of Africa, the barbarians were at this time besieging Ceuta.

The preparations collecting at Barcelona struck terror into them; and if Alberoni had employed them in the manner they apprehended, he might have conferred a lasting benefit on Spain.

But he meditated what to him appeared a more splendid enterprise.

The King of Sicily had, for some time past, been engaged in a course of busy negociation with the court of Madrid. Extremely dissatisfied with the dispositions of the Quadruple Alliance, he was labouring to discover what he could gain from the other side. He made proposals, not with a hope, as it should seem, that they would be ac-

ceded to, but for the purpose of drawing out counter-proposals, that might throw light on the views of the Spanish minister: so that it was in reality a contest of artifice and dissimulation, in which each party pleased himself with the thought of overreaching the other.

The King proposed that Spain should pay him a million of crowns in the first instance, and two thousand dubloons a month, while the war lasted. He promised nothing in return, but general cooperation and alliance. Fifteen thousand Spaniards were to land in the kingdom of Naples; an army was to invade the Milanese; and the King claimed a moiety of the conquests that should be made.

Alberoni, without paying attention to the terms of this proposal, proposed, on his side, that he should be put in immediate possession of Sicily; for which, an equivalent was afterwards to be given in the Milanese, when it should be conquered.

The King might have discovered in this proposal, what he wished to find out, the views and intentions of the Spanish minister. L'Abbé Mari, his resident at Madrid, did not fail to write to him, to look to his kingdom of Sicily. The King however was lulled to security by the terms of the armistice concluded at Utrecht, generally, for the whole of Italy, and for his dominions in particular.

Alberoni smiled at his simplicity, in believing he would suffer himself to be fettered by such slender paper-ties in the career of his designs.

The expedition sailed from Barcelona, the 18th of June, 1718. It consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, and three hundred and forty transports, carrying an army of thirty thousand men; with an immense train of artillery, quantities of ammunition, and abundance of every implement of war. Don Antonio Castagneta commanded the fleet; the Marquis de Leide, the same who had achieved the conquest of Sardinia, the land-forces.

The expedition, after touching at Sardinia, and taking up some troops there, appeared off Sicily the 1st of July.

In conformity with the instructions the commanders had received, a disembarkation immediately took place four leagues from Palermo, the capital of the island.

No sooner did the news reach the King of Sicily, than he ordered his ambassadors at all the courts of Europe, to make the strongest representations against this unexpected attack, so contrary, as he described it, to the usages of civilized nations.

These usages, many of them perhaps no better than ceremonious formalities, interwoven, however, with a voluminous collection of treaties and written engagements between states, composed what was called the Law of Nations, the public law of Europe.

This law, which superficial observers have represented as a mere tissue of diplomatic chicanery, was one of the pillars on which reposed the civilization of the world.

That equality of strength, which would be the best security for the independence of every part in the great assemblage of nations, is impossible. It never has existed, nor ever can exist. Forms and customs, which interposed between the feeble and powerful, a little corrected the necessary effects of the disproportion. They served in some degree as intrenchments to the former, and barriers against the latter.

Mankind will indeed have to lament the day, when brute force shall alone decide, and there shall be nothing to controul, or so much as embarrass, its ascendant.

The King of Sicily had not above seven thousand men in the island. He was totally unable to oppose any resistance to the invasion. His representations were directed to procure assistance and support from the powers that had established the peace of Utrecht. But the uniform answer to his representations was, that the arrangements of the Quadruple Alliance having been deemed necessary to the continuance of this peace, he had nothing to do but immediately to accede to them: so that this wily politician, after all his shiftings and waverings, found himself where he was at the beginning. Apprehensive of losing Sicily, and

getting nothing for it, he notified his accession, and directed the governors of his towns in Sicily to receive the Imperial forces.

The same month in which the Spaniards landed in Sicily, the Emperor concluded peace with the Turks at Passaworitz. All the exhortations of Alberoni and his emissaries could not prevail upon them to expose themselves to the hazards of prolonged hostilities. The undivided forces of the Emperor were now carried to the war in Italy.

The Spaniards, immediately after their landing, proceeded to Palermo, and took possession of it without opposition.

Count Maffei, governor of the island, had withdrawn to Syracuse.

The whole open country submitted to the Spaniards.

From Palermo they directed their march to Messina. The inhabitants compelled the garrison to abandon the town, and withdraw into the citadel.

It was the beginning of August when the Spanish commander was enabled to lay regular siege to this last.

The fleet which had escorted the transports, came round and anchored in the Faro.

The British ministry had not trusted so far to the effect of amicable overtures and negociations, as to forget the possibility of their being disregarded. While therefore Colonel Stanhope was

pressing the matter at Madrid, without making any impression, a more efficient mediator appeared in the Mediterranean. Sir George Byng had left England early in the summer, at the head of a powerful squadron. After having passed the Straits, he sent an officer to notify his orders to the Spanish court; which were, to resist every attempt upon Italy. An haughty answer was made to him, that he might act as he judged expedient.

The expedition had sailed from Barcelona; and Sir George, learning the course it had pursued, immediately sailed after it. He arrived at Naples just as the Spaniards were laying siege to Messina. Reinforcements were preparing to pass over to Sicily. He undertook to escort them. On the 9th of August he was in view of the Faro. He sent to the Spanish general, requesting a suspension of arms. The general answering that he had no authority for the purpose, Sir George saw there was nothing to be obtained by negociation or discussion.

The day after, about noon, he descried the whole Spanish fleet drawn up in order of battle across the Faro. At his approach, they stood away, and tried to gain the open sea behind them. A part separated from the rest, and made for the Sicilian shore. The admiral dispatched Captain Walton with five ships after them. Himself engaged the main fleet, and obtained a decisive

victory. He received, a few days after, from Captain Walton, a letter in these words:

SIR,

We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast;—the number as per margin.

I am, &c.

G. WALTON.

Canterbury, off Syracuse,
Aug. 16, 1718.

The gallant officer who spoke of his exploit with this Spartan brevity, had captured or destroyed eight ships of war, great and small, and made a rear-admiral prisoner.

These events might have taught Alberoni, how vain and futile are the finest-wrought schemes, the most subtile refinements, the whole tissue of artificial policy, when unsupported by an adequate force!

The natural inference was, that if at any time a great military power should arise, which, unfettered by venerable plausibilities, should go directly to its object, trusting entirely to the longest and sharpest sword, the artificial system of European policy would be torn in pieces; the fancied balance of power be overturned; and no expedient left to nations to escape the yoke, but bringing forward an equal force to oppose it.

Alberoni said afterwards, that the Queen of

Spain, with her violent, restless character, wanted only a great general to disturb all Europe.

Such indeed is the slender tenure by which mankind hold their prosperity, that a general, as described by Alberoni, with armies fit for his purpose at his command, hurried along by a passion for false glory, shall, in the space of a single year, perhaps of a few months, destroy what centuries have built up; what generations of patriot sages, labouring for their country, have transmitted; sweep away every monument of human civilization, and erect his trophies amidst deserts where Industry smiled, and Plenty poured forth its treasures!

Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of this month. Knowing the mission of the British admiral to the Mediterranean, and having reason to apprehend some blow, leading to a rupture during his residence in Spain, he had deemed it expedient, before he entered the Spanish territories, to obtain a regular passport.

He found the Cardinal arrogant, but he was not without hopes, at first, of bringing him to a reasonable disposition; when an express arrived from Cardinal Aquaviva, with the intelligence of the landing of the Spaniards in Sicily, and their triumphant progress from Palermo to Messina.

This was enough for the inflammable head of the Cardinal. He now looked forward to the entire consummation of all his designs. The Spaniards, after having reduced the island of

Sicily, were to land in the kingdom of Naples. The inhabitants would rise up in arms to support their operations. Naples would be subdued, and nothing would stop their victorious career, till they had expelled the Germans from Italy.

He laid before Stanhope a string of extravagant propositions. The absolute sovereignty of Sicily and Sardinia was to be ceded to Spain. The children of the Queen were to have Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, and no manner of condition was to be attached to these possessions. The Emperor was to recall the troops he was sending to Italy; and in future not to presume to keep up there above a certain number. The British fleet was to return without delay into its ports.

Stanhope discerned from the complexion of these propositions, that the Spanish minister was nowise inclined to accommodation or peace. He therefore set out from Madrid, leaving behind him a note to signify, that if the King of Spain did not accept the treaty of Quadruple Alliance in three months, the allies would declare war against him, and that any attempted hostility during that time would be opposed by force of arms.

The news of the English victory, which followed soon after the intelligence transmitted by Cardinal Aquaviva, must no doubt have damped the sanguine hopes, and abated the visionary spirit of the minister. He had it proclaimed by beat of drum throughout Spain, that no one should

presume to speak of the discomfiture of the fleet. He affected at the same time airs of composure and tranquillity. He was heard to say, at a subsequent period of his life, that the death of a friend had affected him more than all the vicissitudes of his ministry.

This, which at one time was cried up as magnanimity, will appear deserving of a very different name, when it is considered, that all this unconcern was for dangers he never exposed himself to, and calamities others were condemned to endure.

He laboured to indispose the English public against their government. For this purpose, he wrote a variety of letters to Beretti Landi at the Hague, and Monteleone in London, which were published and circulated in England, accompanied by one from Monteleone himself to Secretary Craggs.

Some parts of these letters seemed intended for the people of Spain, from the bombast into which they swelled, while others stated in a whining tone, that the heart of the King of Spain overflowed with affection for the English nation, whose interests had been sacrificed by a few individuals consulting only their private designs.

This appeal from the government to the people, was justly complained of in a forcible letter from Secretary Craggs to the Spanish ambassador.

Alberoni, however, not a little valued himself on the style of his correspondence, and had no

doubt, that at the approaching meeting of the House of Commons, a large party would appear, who with factious clamours would echo his representations, and second his views. This was the result of a mistake common to most foreigners, who have never formed a just idea of the character of a British House of Commons. Sometimes they represent it to themselves, as a mere popular assembly, liable like all assemblies of that description to be carried away by the passions of the day, open to seductions of various kinds; at others, borrowing their notions from some of our party writers, as a junto to be bought, generally in the pay of ministers, but not absolutely closed against a higher bidder.

The House of Commons is felt by the people of England, as the most efficient controul upon power, and the surest guardian of their rights. Not modelled agreeably to any scheme or theory, it draws to itself, through mysterious channels, all that is considerable in rank, wealth, and talents in the country. Having property for its foundation, it is a friend to order and government; and government derives an equable course from its support: but while it supports government, it effectually controuls it. How? not to the eyes of the vulgar by a train of litigious opposition, but by the solemn attitude it exhibits, which intercepts the birth of any proposals, derogatory from the honour, or repugnant to the evident interests of the nation.

Does a question of trade arise? What can tempt the mercantile opulence assembled to sacrifice or injure it? Is landed property to be affected? Behold the array of landed proprietors that are to decide. Of what importance is it how they came there? there they are. All this adorned and beautified by eloquence, imagination, wit, insomuch that there is scarcely an instance of transcendent talents that did not find their way into this assembly.

When parliament met, which was the November following, the whole conduct of ministers came under review in both houses, and was gravely discussed with a considerable difference of opinion. Some censured the dispositions of the Quadruple Alliance; others represented the attack upon the Spaniards, without a previous declaration of war, as a violation of the laws of nations. But though opinions were different, there was nothing like factious clamour, no indication of foreign influence. The person who led the opposition in the Commons was Mr. Walpole, afterwards Sir Robert, whose memory has been a little tarnished by that party virulence which pursued him during his life, but who appears to me one of the honestest and best statesmen this country ever produced. Notwithstanding the authority of his name, and that of the many illustrious persons who concurred with him, a large majority in both houses saw in the Quadruple Alliance, the sincere wish which

animated King and ministers to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and were of opinion, the hostilities which followed were rendered inevitable by the conduct of the Spanish minister.

This last, despairing of creating any sensation in his favour, either in the parliament or public of England, abandoned himself, without reserve, to the animosity the action in the Mediterranean had excited.

He ordered the English consuls at the ports to quit the kingdom, proceeded to make seizures of English property, and encouraged the fitting-out of privateers against the English trade.

Nothing was wanting but a formal declaration of war against Spain; which took place in December.

In Sicily, notwithstanding the destruction of the fleet, the Spanish commander succeeded in obtaining the citadel of Messina by capitulation. This event was celebrated with great rejoicings at Madrid; and Alberoni affected to consider it as a complete compensation for the victory of the English. He appeared nowise disheartened, but was continually sending large sums, with quantities of supplies of every kind for the support of the war; not doubting but he should soon be gratified with the news of the entire reduction of the island.

After the fall of the citadel of Messina,* the

* Alberoni thought the Spanish commander much too tardy in his operations. A note in the new edition of St.

Spaniards proceeded to invest the town of Melazzo. A large body of Imperialists landed under the command of General Carraffa, with a view of obliging them to raise the seige; but, after a sharp and long disputed engagement, failed in accomplishing their purpose.

The Imperialists, however, were receiving constant reinforcements. The Emperor, delivered from the Turkish war, had no other employment for his troops; and whole bodies repaired to Naples from Hungary, partly by sea, and partly by land. The English, masters of the sea, transported them to Sicily.

Since the accession of the Duke of Savoy to the Quadruple Alliance, the Emperor was regarded sovereign of this island; and the Duke of Monteleone came as viceroy, by his appointment. The British admiral was indefatigable in transporting troops, throwing in supplies for the support of the Imperialists, and harrassing and annoying the Spaniards whenever they approached the coast.

Simon's works, ascribes to him very inhuman expressions on this subject. He wrote to Don Joseph Patino:—"For God's sake, try to give a little warmth to the frigid constitution of your friend, the Marquis de Leide! It is right to spare the troops sometimes; but there are occasions when it must be considered, they are made to be tired, et pour crever quand il convient."

On the contrary, St. Philippe says, he ordered the Marquis de Leide to preserve his troops with great care, and never to risk a general action, unless he was forced to it.

Another body of Imperialists, to the number of fifteen thousand, under General Merci, landed for the relief of Melazzo. The Spaniards now gave up the siege, and withdrew southwards. The Imperialists followed them, and overtook them at Franca-villa. An engagement took place. The Imperialists were repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, and Merci was severely wounded.

Notwithstanding this victory, the Spaniards suffered so much from the unremitting exertions of Sir George Byng, and from the fresh troops which were pouring in against them, that, expecting no reinforcements on their side, they saw themselves compelled to occupy a strong position in the interior, and confine themselves to defensive operations. Already had Messina and its citadel fallen into the hands of the Imperialists.

Before the close of the year 1718, Alberoni had failed in an attempt to accomplish a revolution in the capital of France.

His designs against the Duke of Orleans the Regent, were of long standing. He had done what he could to snatch the regency from him. It was by his persuasion, the King of Spain had meditated preferring his claims.

The voice of the leading public bodies in the nation, having conferred the regency on the Duke, he applied himself to encourage all the discontented in France, and add to their numbers. He

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had indeed to complain of similar practices on the part of the Duke.

A regular correspondence was carried on between a faction at Madrid and the Regent, through the channel of the French ambassador, relieved however by a multiplicity of other agents. Count D'Aguilar, one of this faction, had gone so far as to propose declaring the King incapable of the functions of royalty, seizing the person of the Prince of Asturias, and carrying on the government in his name. The Regent did not think proper to lend his countenance to this design, but continued his intrigues and clandestine negociations about the court of Madrid.

This was attacking Alberoni in his own province, and where the stress of his talents particularly lay. Nobody practised more the whole mechanism of plots. He resolved to give employment to the Regent at home.

His animosity was not only excited against this prince, as the author of secret practices and machinations against him, but he found his public government a constant obstruction to his designs.

The Quadruple Alliance had been concerted by the cabinet of Paris. The irritable minister had received another provocation. He had conceived the notion of augmenting the forces of Spain by levies in France, and encouragements held out to Frenchmen to resort to the frontiers. The Spanish ambassador, in pursuance of his instructions,

had treated with as many French officers as seemed desirous of entering into a foreign service, and was near concluding an engagement with the Chevalier de Folard, known by his scientific investigations on the art of war.

The Regent learning what was going forward, cut off the whole negociation, by forbidding all the subjects of France to enter into the land or naval service of Spain. He at the same time ordered all those who were engaged there to return.

The first expedient of revenge Alberoni had recourse to, was the same he practised without success in England. He endeavoured by writings and proclamations to gain a party in the French nation. The French merchants resident in Spain, he promised immunities to, with a number of compliments to the nation in general.

But he had laid trains for overturning at once the government of the Regent, and he flattered himself, that he had only to command, in order to produce the expected explosion.

Prince Cellamare, Spanish ambassador at Paris, was nephew to Cardinal Giudice. Instead of resenting the wrongs done his uncle, his whole anxiety and zeal was exerted, that the minister should forget the degree of blood in which he stood to the man who had offended him. Knowing the hatred he bore the Regent, and his wish to create all manner of disturbances in France, he applied himself to second him in this object. The

state of the French kingdom was not a little favourable to his views.

The conduct of the Regent had united many different descriptions of men against him. The scandalous excesses, to which he and his daughter, the Duchess de Berri,* openly abandoned themselves, and which surpassed every thing which history recorded of the most depraved times, filled religious men with horror, and disgusted, in the highest degree, every reflecting mind.

The great body of the people murmured at the profusion which attended these excesses. They had looked forward to considerable relief from the burthens which the late reign had imposed upon them; retrenchments in the expense had been promised, but instead of these, the revenues of the state were squandered on worthless favourites, on

* This unfortunate Princess, who died at the age of twenty-four, in the bloom of youth and beauty, who was adorned with all the graces that captivate, was precipitated into these disorders by really mental derangement. After a night passed in orgies, that create astonishment in a woman of her age and a Princess, she would often go to a convent of Carmelite nuns, and prostrating herself on the ground, breathe the most fervent sighs of devotion. The nun who attended her would exclaim, Bon Jesus! is it possible, Madame, such scandalous things should be said of you? Surely you are a perfect saint. The Princess would burst out a laughing, and return to the same excesses that very night. What was this but downright madness? An improper intimacy was reported to subsist betwen her and her father. Their public contempt of morality in all other particulars, naturally produced reports of this kind.

all who assisted in the promotion of licentious pleasure. Recourse was had to violent systems and theories, in order to remedy the disorder in the finances. The whole fiscal government of the country was put into the hands of a foreign adventurer; but after a short period of delusion, the experiment only served to aggravate the public distress.

These, and other innovations, were eagerly laid hold of by a large party about the court, whose discontent arose from other causes, but who affected to complain of the little respect shewn to the maxims that had long guided the monarchy, and had regulated the conduct of the late King. They were particularly acrimonious in condemning the alliance of the house of Hanover, with the desertion of the Pretender's interests, and the steps leading to a rupture with Spain.

These were joined by all who were friends to the parliaments, and wished to give weight to their remonstrances.

The Regent was under considerable obligations to the Parliament of Paris for annulling the will, which would have left him little but the name and appearance of authority. It was expected, that his government would be conducted with much deference to the parliaments. But no sooner was he firmly seated in power, than they lost all marks of regard. His favourites* went further. They

* Particularly St. Simon, author of the Memoires plein d'un mépris maniaque pour la robe.—Duclos.

affected to treat the whole body of the magistracy with the most insulting contempt. It was even proposed to take a measure, which would have produced what was tantamount to an abolition of the parliaments. The Regent at one time was inclined in favour of the proposal. It was only after long deliberation, he refused his assent to it.

These circumstances of civil dissension were trivial, compared with the spirit of religious faction. The Bull Unigenitus, as it is called, divided the kingdom into two violent parties, one supporting, and the other opposing it. Both were dissatisfied with the Regent. His temper and ways of thinking would have led him to perfect neutrality, or rather indifference upon the subject; but l'Abbé Dubois, who had his eye riveted on a cardinal's hat, thought there was no better way of establishing his interest at the court of Rome, than supporting the Bull. His influence, which was all-powerful with the Regent, induced that prince to declare himself in its favour; but this declaration was accompanied with so little warmth and zeal, as gave little pleasure to the bigots of the party. They turned their eyes to the King of Spain, where they were sure of meeting with fanaticism equal to their own.

Separate, and in some degree scattered, as these causes of discontent were, they might never have gathered into a design against the government, if there had not been a person actuated by private motives, and under the dominion of furious pas-

sions, who was at the pains of uniting them, and giving them something like a plan of operation. This was the Duchess de Maine, of the family of Condé, married to one of the illegitimate offspring of Lewis XIV. Her character was violent and impetuous, full of ambition, which had recently suffered a severe mortification. She had consented to marry the Duke, her husband, at a time when the fondness of his father seemed to promise him the highest rank in the state.

Some time before his death, the deceased King had declared him prince of the blood, and rendered him capable of succeeding to the crown, after the rest of the royal family. By his will, he committed to his care the person of the young King, and assigned to him the command of the household troops. When the will was annulled, of course these provisions fell to the ground. Still the Duke de Maine retained his place among the princes of the blood, and his ability of succeeding to the crown.

Things remained some time in this state, when the Regent, in the autumn of 1718, was prevailed on to strike a decisive blow. The Duke de Maine was deprived of every prerogative which raised him above the other dukes and peers of France, and reduced precisely to the same rank. Nothing then remains for me, exclaimed the enraged Duchess, casting a fierce and haughty look at

her husband, but the disgrace of having married you.

The desire of vengeance now possessed her whole soul. The splendid festivals of her palace,* which

* This Princess was distinguished by the magnificence of her entertainments, and the good company of every description she assembled round her. She affected to be a patroness of men of letters. Fontenelle, L'Abbé Chaulieu, Cardinal Polignac, were constant visitants at her palace. She had recourse to every expedient to assist the progress of time. Different sorts of gaming kept her up the greatest part of the night. To these masques and dramatic exhibitions were superadded, still that cruel enemy to the enjoyments of the idle rich, known to the French by the name of ennui, for which our language offers no equivalent,† continued to pursue her with implacable animosity. When she went to bed, she had a woman to tell her stories till she fell asleep. She afterwards had a reader for the same purpose. The distractions which she was thrown into by what she deemed the disgrace of her husband agitated her mind, a little too much however for her happiness. Every night she employed herself composing manifestoes and memorials. Books upon books were heaped upon her bed. Fatigued at length she went to sleep. Her situation is thus emphatically described. She seemed as if deprived of life, or rather oppressed by a lethargic slumber, which was interrupted only by violent convulsions.—Mem. de Staal. v. 2. p. 20.

† A clever woman in Paris, femme d'esprit, expressed her surprise to a friend of mine, that we should have no word to express a thing which prevails so much among us. But this was a mistak . France is the native country of ennui. It is the corrupt growth of artificial refinement in society. An Englishman can bear to be quiet. A Frenchman fancies himself ennuie, as he calls it, the moment he is not in a state of hustle and fermentation.

in former times had given some employment to her restless spirit, were suspended, and she abandoned herself, without caution or reserve, to every obscure adventurer who promised to gratify her governing passion.

Knowing the animosity of the Jesuits and their whole cabal to the Regent, and informed that many of them corresponded with the King of Spain's confessor, she immediately set on foot a connection with a Père Tournemine, who was pointed out to her as having a large share in this correspondence. Père Tournemine introduced to her acquaintance a Baron Walef, a sort of minute retailer of literary trifles, who was known for scribbling bad verses, and carrying up and down copies of them. This Baron contrived to get a few louis-d'ors from her, and disappeared.

Cellamare had been looking round for persons disposed to engage in a plot. To this effect he had practised a variety of arts. Though too old to feel any passion for women; yet thinking an appearance of gallantry necessary in a court like that of the Regent, without which he must remain a stranger to many who might assist him in his views, he had declared himself a follower of Beauty. It was not this indeed which led to his connection with the Duchess de Maine, who had no pretensions on the score of beauty. She is described as positively ugly; and among the variety of her pursuits, none of the amorous kind are mentioned.

It was her eagerness to disturb the government of the Regent which induced her, after the flight of the mendicant Baron, to have recourse to Cellamare. She hired a small house in the neighbourhood of Paris, where she used to repair at nights, and hold conferences with him. Something in the nature of a plot was soon agreed upon between them: but originating in violent passions on one side, and the desire of gratifying a precipitate headlong minister on the other, it bore few marks of plan or deliberation. It was generally directed to seizing upon the person of the Regent, and transferring the authority to the King of Spain: but nothing was arranged as to the means of subduing resistance; no provision was made for obtaining a public force.

The Regent was served by a number of spies; so that he had early information of the movements of the Duchess; but these only led to the knowledge of some combination between her and the Spanish ambassador; a more particular account of this combination was obtained by a curious incident.

Cellamare, before he set fire to the mines, (to use his own figurative phrascology) deemed it necessary to send a number of papers relating to the scheme to Alberoni at Madrid. In the state of vigilance and suspicion observable about the court of the Regent, it was imprudent to entrust them to an ordinary courier, who would certainly be

stopped: but the journey of L'Abbé Portocarrero, nephew of the Cardinal of that name, and Monteleone, son of the ambassador in London, appeared a good opportunity of transmitting them without danger. These young gentlemen had spent some months at Paris in a society of pleasure, and had agreed to return together to their native country.

It happened that, the night before they were to set out, one of the secretaries* of Cellamare had an appointment at the house of a celebrated procuress, of the name of La Fillon. Coming late to his appointment, he excused himself by saying he had been detained writing letters which were to be forwarded by the travellers. The girl repeated this to La Fillon, who lost no time in informing her friend and customer, L'Abbé Dubois. The travellers were stopped at Poitiers, and all their papers seized.

Of these papers, two were immediately published by the Regent, in order to justify the measures he judged it proper to take against the person of the ambassador. They were letters from Cellamare to Alberoni, containing observations on the plan of

* Voltaire, for the sole purpose of representing a poor Abbé at a brothel, converts this secretary into L'Abbé Portocarrero himself; and adds that the papers were taken out of his pocket in one of those moments when no one has his wits about him. No other account of this transaction, of the many that have appeared, mentions any one but the secretary. Voltaire, it is evident, grossly falsified history, with a view merely to a paltry jest.

the conspiracy, and referring to other papers which accompanied them. The style is quite burlesque. In one part, he speaks of trains of gunpowder, of blowing up the government of the Regent, and kindling a conflagration in the whole kingdom. In another, comes this pious sentence: "If it shall please the Divine Mercy to appease the present jealousies and discontents," &c. When Cellamare heard of the seizure of his papers, he had the assurance to go and demand that they should be delivered up to him. For answer, Dubois and another minister, Le Blanc, accompanied him in a carriage, and proceeded to examine his house. During this ceremony, Cellamare affected great composure, and indulged himself in satirical sallies. Dubois and Le Blanc, in the course of their examination, came to a particular box. Le Blanc was going to open it. "You have nothing to do with that," said Cellamare, "it contains letters from women: leave it to Dubois, who has been a pimp all his life."

After this, he was conducted to the Castle of Blois, to remain there till it was known the French ambassador in Spain, St. Aignan, had reached France.

Alberoni had ordered him to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours; but scarcely had he issued the order, when he received dispatches from Cellamare. He was now desirous of securing the person of St. Aignan, as an hostage for his own agent. But St.

Aignan, aware of the value of time, in the very precarious intercourse of the two courts, had no sooner received the order from the minister, than he hurried day and night to the Pyrenees. Here he hired saddle-horses for himself and his wife, and left two of his servants in his carriage to personate himself and her. The servants acted their parts well; made a good deal of noise at the violence offered them; and were reconducted to Pampeluna for their master and mistress. Alberoni was enraged at the stratagem which had been practised upon him, and punished his subalterns who had allowed themselves to be deceived.

On his return to Spain, Cellamare was appointed Viceroy of Navarre; which was considered an approbation of what he had done.

The detection of the conspiracy was not followed by any severity on the part of the Regent. With all his faults, this Prince had the virtue of clemency:—if what seems to have been in a great measure the effect of levity and carelessness, shall be thought deserving of the name of clemency.

He looked on the world as on a stage:—provided the actors performed well their parts, in whatever characters they appeared, whether in comedy or tragedy, he was amused, and applauded, without reflecting how seriously he himself might have to pay for his entertainment.*

* Marmontel.

The Duke and Duchess of Maine underwent confinement for a few months. The Cardinal Polignac was banished to the country. Some few imprisonments took place: and thus ended the conspiracy of Cellamare.

To it was attached, as a sort of underplot, a scheme in which the Duke, afterwards Marechal of Richelieu, made a figure.

This young fellow, perfectly run mad with vanity at his success in love-affairs with some foolish women of distinction, took it into his head that nothing was wanting to complete his character, but some action which should make a noise in the political world. The part of a state-criminal he thought very shining, and determined to assume it. Trusting, no doubt, to the known good-nature and easy temper of the Regent, he ventured to write immediately to Alberoni, offering to deliver up Bayonne where his regiment was quartered. The discovery of this absurd correspondence terminating in a frivolous young man, only made the Regent laugh. The Duke however was sent to the Bastille, more, as it should seem, to carry on the jest, than with any serious intention of punishment. He was allowed every sort of convenience and amusement; his valet-de-chambre attended him; he had his fiddle and his dice-box; but what pleased him most was the winding-up of the comedy,—he was set free by love.

All the Regent's daughters were true to the gay,

unrestrained character of the family. The blood that danced in their veins, the confusion of pleasure and licentiousness which surrounded them, the example of their father and his associates, banished from their heads and hearts every thing like prudence or discretion. One of them, Mademoiselle de Valois, conceived a passion for the Duke de Richelieu. He was not a man to make a secret of his victory; it reached the ears of the Regent. Whatever she might do when she was a wife, that was the business of her husband. It was therefore resolved to marry her. An Italian Prince was procured for her; and she was to set out for Italy; she would not however commence her journey, till the Duke, the object of her tenderness, was released from his confinement.

Happy times were these for France, when plots and conspiracies were matters for laughter. Yet while every thing seemed to smile around; while the cursory glance discovered nothing but joy, and gaiety and disport; the causes of blood and havoc were lurking among the decorations of the festive scene! A concealed Fury, with a dagger in her hand, stood watching near the bowl of Pleasure. It cannot be too strongly inculcated upon princes and nations, morals, the charities of private life, are what hold together the edifice of society. No one did more to destroy these, through the course of a long life, than the Duke de Richelieu, who has been mentioned.

He was the foremost of that profligate band who conspired to rob the intercourse of the sexes of all those sentiments and decencies, which, in the absence of the stricter virtues, half supplied their place;—fidelity, secrecy, honour, chivalrous refinement, purifying and chastising the passions, they did not wholly restrain. He and his imitators were the founders of that school of gross sensuality, in which perished all the better feelings; the heart was hardened, the flower of juvenile fancy withered, beauty inspired no delicacy or elegance of thought.*

While these projects were advancing towards an explosion in France, at the very same time ne-

* An anecdote will shew the character of Richelieu. While he was ambassador at Vienna, he and some other young men lived, what is called a life of gaiety and pleasure. One of those mountebanks who subsist on the follies of mankind, persuaded them that he could conjure up the devil, and by his means gratify them in all their wishes. The key of the hearts of Princes was what Richelieu wished for. The hearts of women, the vain coxcomb was sure of those. The conjuration was to be performed in a stone-quarry at some distance from the city. Night was chosen as the proper time for the ceremony. Some labourers coming to their work in the morning, heard the cries and groans of a dying man, and going up to see what was the matter, beheld a poor fellow in a whimsical dress, weltering in his blood, and the young heroes standing over him with their drawn swords. It seems the conjurer had spent the whole night to no purpose in attempting to bring up the devil. The disappointed party, stung with a sense of their credulity and folly, in the bitter-

sociations were going forward for supplanting the reigning family in England.

Charles XII. of Sweden, on his return from Turkey, found his enemies had taken advantage of his absence, to despoil his crown of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden; and these had come by purchase into the hands of George I.

The Czar Peter too conceived he had causes of complaint against the same Prince.

A Baron Gortz, one of those restless adventurers, of whom these times were remarkably fruitful, who had been introduced to Charles during his residence in Turkey, and had accompanied him on his return to Sweden, formed a plan of peace between the two rival monarchs of the North, who were then to turn their united arms against England.

In prosecution of this design, he travelled to the Hague, and thence corresponded with Count Gyllenburgh, Swedish ambassador in London, and by his means, with the principal Jacobites in England.

The machinations of Gortz were discovered. The Regent of France obtained intelligence of

ness of mortified vanity, fell upon the wretch, and added a base and cowardly murder to the silly adventures of the night.—Duclos, vol. ii. p. 279.

It is difficult to conceive a more striking union of wickedness and folly. Yet this was the man whom Voltaire delighted to celebrate; whom the fair caressed, the young imitated; whose example was the fashion of his time!

them, through the spies he had in all parts of Europe. He informed the court of London. Gyllenburgh was arrested. The same happened to Gortz at the Hague, at the instance of the King of England.

Alberoni had entered warmly into the scheme of the confederacy. He had communicated with Charles and the Czar; and the stipulations to be performed by the several contracting parties had been sketched.—Spain was to supply money; the Czar was to furnish ships for the transport of ten thousand Swedes into England, who were to replace the Pretender on the throne; the King of Sweden in person was to head this expedition; at the same time, an army of eighty thousand Russians and Swedes was to march into Germany. These projects, which the Spanish minister entertained with his usual sanguine disposition, were overthrown at once by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed at the siege of Frederickstat, in the middle of December, 1718.

But new projects succeeded. Indeed there was no end of them; one begot another, till at last he became engaged to change the whole system of Europe.

The King of Spain was only nominally the sovereign. He had sunk into a degree of lethargy, which bereft him of all his faculties. This was made manifest to the whole world whenever he appeared in public. The person who wished to

engage his attention, approached him. The King seemed to listen, but returned no answer; nor did any thing indicate the least perception in his mind of what had been said to him; not a feature in his countenance was observed to change.

The whole power rested between the Queen and the minister. *She* governed the king absolutely by his appetites; and the visions of ambition, with which *he* fed her mind, gave him an unlimited ascendant over her.

Intoxicated by his elevation, he displayed the utmost haughtiness in his whole demeanour. The most distinguished noblemen he treated with airs of superiority. On the least contradiction, he would break out into the most indecent transports of passion. He wished to have it thought, that in his single person centered the whole administration of government. Insisting that affairs could not be carried on without inviolable secrecy, he kept them entirely to himself, not even disclosing them to the Queen. On no occasion did he take any one's advice. He directed all the foreign dispatches, every public communication, to be addressed immediately to himself. He gave notice at the same time, that whoever deviated in the least degree from his orders, should pay for his disobedience with his head.

With so much power, and such overbearing presumption, it might have been expected he would

do a great deal; and Spain had need of the most consummate talents, and enlightened exertions, to extricate herself out of the state of embarrassment and peril he had brought upon her. England had already declared war against her, and in January, 1719, a manifesto to the same effect appeared on the part of France: so that she had now to combat a union of the most powerful states in Europe.

But Alberoni, instead of assuming the attitude of a great war minister, confined himself to the expedients of a petty intriguer. He was busy in stirring up plots and insurrections; he published addresses and manifestoes; he attempted some trifling and ill-concerted diversions. He is said even to have instigated persons to the assassination of the Regent.

This is not the way in which war between mighty nations, is either pushed forward or repelled.

The truly great statesman, who is called upon to handle this tremendous scourge, will evince his abilities by the firm and elastic arm with which he brandishes it. The first, the great step to conquer, is to astonish, if possible overpower, the imaginations of men. Convinced of this truth, the man whom I am describing, will admit nothing little or paltry into his plans. He will never think of teasing his adversary into defeat. A few but great blows, shining results, though confined to one or

two quarters, will be his objects. When his combinations appear in action, they shall break forth with the noise and effect of thunder.

Such was not the conduct of Alberoni.

A set of pilferers and robbers wandered about France, pretending to be employed in the sale of contraband salt. They were joined by many of the idle dissolute peasantry, and their numbers increased to near thirty thousand. They were observed particularly in the neighbourhood of Paris and Amiens, and throughout the whole province of Picardy. They confined themselves at first to partial and obscure depredations; but encouraged by impunity, they at length became formidable enough to attract the notice of government. This was just an occasion to tempt a genius like that of Alberoni. He expected mighty effects, if he could excite these banditti to what he might call rebellion. He accordingly dispatched emissaries among them for that purpose. It was done:—some regiments were sent to disperse them; they resisted; lives were lost on both sides. But his hopes of a powerful diversion against the Regent, vanished by the infliction of capital punishment on some of the ringleaders, and an edict of disarming the peasantry in a few districts.

In the mean time, while the minister was amusing himself with this petty negociation, the whole frontier of Spain, towards France, was in a great measure defenceless. Scarcely were fifteen

thousand men assembled, who were slowly advancing towards Navarre.

Whatever army remained in Spain after the embarkation for Sicily, must have been scattered at a distance. No considerable bodies of troops were stationed in places of the utmost importance, and most exposed to an invading enemy; and this was the more extraordinary, as the whole winter had been employed by France for a campaign in the spring. The Regent appointed Marechal, Duke of Berwick, to the command.

The Marechal had served in Spain, and his son was married and settled there. He himself was grandee of the first class, and Duke of Liria. He had likewise received from Philip, in reward for his services, the order of the Golden Fleece.

With these circumstances to connect him with Spain, many persons blamed him for accepting the command, but he thought that, as an officer engaged in the French service, he had no choice but to obey. He, however, deemed it becoming to send the King of Spain the ensigns of his order. The King, by the persuasion of his minister, who was intent upon gratifying the French officers and French troops, refused to accept them. The Marechal wrote to his son, who had a command in the Spanish army, not to fail doing his duty.

The French took the field in April, 1719. They passed the river Bidassoa, which divides the two kingdoms

Colonel Stanhope, who had left Madrid on the breaking out of the war with England, was serving as a volunteer in the French army. He prevailed upon Marechal Berwick to direct his march along the coast, and push on to Puerto de Passages.

This port, situated between Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, is formed by the advancing of the sea through a narrow inlet, which spreads itself, after it has escaped from this streight, into a small oval bason. Here were deposited naval stores to a large amount. Six ships of the line were upon the stocks, the whole valued at half a million sterling, which was either burnt or transported to France. Alberoni, who had taken no precaution against this loss, who had established no means for impeding the further progress of the invaders, seems to have thought that kingdoms were defended, not by powerful armies, commanded by skilful officers, but by papers and manifestoes. There was no army to oppose the French, but there was an address to the soldiers, exhorting them not to obey their officers and government.

Addresses of this kind can never have the effect of corrupting soldiers, when a government is tolerably stable. In the ordinary march of governments, the army is as a great piece of mechanism,* where the parts are so disposed as to follow

* I hope, I shall not be understood by any expression in this passage, to favour the system which proclaims an army in all respects a piece of mechanism, and soldiers mere machines.

instantaneously each other's motions, receiving the first impulse and direction from above. Appearances, no doubt, will be different, where a long series of causes has been at work to undermine a government; where a government has reached that period of general debility which immediately precedes its fall.

The next enterprise of the French was the siege of Fontarabia.

A more stupid doctrine never was propagated, and it has had the effect, that some of the most undisputed blockheads have set up for great generals, on the sole merit of adjusting a coat or a cravat, or at most of directing the accurate performance of a few evolutions. It is the intuitive glance of genius, which sees the means of forming a military force, and giving it the determination most convenient to its purposes. For this, all the springs which actuate and govern the animal, man, must be touched. It is necessary to produce the greatest strength and earnestness possible, both in his mind and body. To make him able and willing, is the point. Accordingly, late French writers speak with much good sense of "le moral et le physique d'une armée." No skilful general will disregard any circumstance which operates upon either of these parts of human nature. The sound of trumpets has struck a panic into an army. The direction of the wind may decide the fate of a battle. Of still more importance, of course, are great moral causes. The spirit of a people, their attachment to their sovereign, their opinion of their ministers and generals, their feelings as to what they are contending for, &c. To this view of the subject, must likewise be referred the superiority of troops who have seen war and danger to recruits and unpractised volunteers, though these last, if duly [illegible], of all raw troops, most likely to be [illegible] soldiers.

Philip, notwithstanding all the circumstances to which he had subjected himself, calculated to spread gloom and dismay over his mind, derived from the constitution of his frame, from his blood and nerves, a good deal of personal courage. He delighted in the noise and stir of arms. He was impatient to appear at the head of his troops, cherishing the hope he had been encouraged to entertain, that when he was seen, the French soldiers would be disposed to go over to him, or at least would be shaken in their fidelity to his enemy, the Duke of Orleans.

Alberoni, for some reason or other, did not encourage this martial ardour. Philip imputed to him the delays which prevented him from joining his army till after Fontarabia had surrendered. He seemed so much displeased, that it was evident he thought of delivering himself of his minister.

The minister's counsels produced nothing but losses and discomfitures.

Another place where naval stores were collected, Santogna, was attacked by the French, acting in conjunction with a British squardron, and the naval stores destroyed. The town of St. Sebastian was taken; and by the end of August, the King of Spain was dispossessed of the whole province of Guipuscoa. Berwick went to carry on the war on the side of Catalonia.

It was the fate of Alberoni to be constantly

planning expeditions, and to fail in all his enterprises.

The Pope, not a little incommoded by the residence of the Pretender at Rome, which was very expensive to him, in order to get rid of his troublesome guest, had, about the beginning of this year, proposed to the enterprising Cardinal, to make use of him in some attempt upon England. The Cardinal agreed, and wished to see immediately some person whom the Pretender should depute. The Duke of Ormond went over to Spain in this capacity, and had frequent conferences with the minister. The Pretender followed soon after. He arrived about the middle of March. A fleet sailed from Cadiz, having on board four thousand men, and arms for twenty thousand. It was to take up the Duke of Ormond at Corunna. In doubling Cape Finisterre, it encountered a violent storm, which dispersed the greater part of it on the coasts of Portugal and Gallicia.

Two frigates escaped, and landed the Earls Marischal and Seafor h, the Marquis of Tullibardine, and three hundred Spaniards with field pieces, in the north of Scotland. This inconsiderable force was soon subdued by General Wightman. The Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners. The rebel lords effected their flight to one of the Western Isles, from which they procured shipping for the Continent.

All the allies of England had disposed themselves to succour the reigning family on this occasion. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Regent made a proffer to George I. of twenty battalions for his service.

The Duke of Ormond sailed, with what he could collect of the shattered remains of the Cadiz fleet, and appeared off the coast of Britanny. The intrigues of the Duchess de Maine had reached this province. The inhabitants had been prepared for insurrection by emissaries from Spain. The design was formed. They were to receive the Spanish troops, march to Paris, and overturn the government. The Duke of Ormond however did not land, but after remaining a short time off the the coast, set sail again for Spain. Some gentlemen were beheaded, convicted of having been connected with the design that has been mentioned. Others were obliged to fly their country.

An expedition commanded by Lord Cobham, succeeded in destroying the remains of the Spanish navy at Vigo.

To complete the mortification of Alberoni, the States-General were at length prevailed upon to accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

The Emperor thought he had dicovered a plan laid against his life. Monsignor Cini, an aulic counsellor, was arrested at Turin, and conducted

prisoner to the castle of Milan. A Count Nimsech and an Abbé Tedeschi were taken up. The latter underwent the torture.

There was no disturbance or commotion in Europe, which was not set to the account of Alberoni. The sovereigns combined against Spain, declared his dismission an indispensable preliminary to peace. The most inveterate was the Regent, and he had reason to be so. Alberoni had attacked him in a variety of publications, affecting not to call him the Regent, but the person who assumed the name.

The progress of the French arms made Philip tremble for his capital. Liberal terms of pacification were offered to him, if he would sacrifice the obnoxious minister. He had been already indisposed towards him, hearing the scandal of his private life—the mistresses he kept;—but had he been successful, he might have shut his eyes to those offences. He was not so, and a variety of circumstances co-operated to his fall.

He had rendered himself extremely odious to the people of Spain, who had been taught to believe, he intended to assume the title of Cardinal Farnese, and claim relationship to the Queen.

The clergy suspected him of a design to abridge their power and influence, and overturn the Inquisition.

Certain it is, Père D'Aubenton, the confessor,

was one of the first to abandon him. Perhaps he was led to consider his fall as inevitable, and had no mind to cling to him in adversity.

Different accounts are given of the mode that was taken to ruin him in the good graces of the Queen. As long as he was secure there, he might depend on the subjection of Philip.

Among the few persons who approached her, was a woman of the name of Laura Piscatori, who had been her nurse. She had followed her from Parma, and was at this time her assa feta, a head waiting woman.

Laura was coarse, but shrewd, and full of cunning. Alberoni had not been wanting in appearances of attention to her, but secretly hated and feared her. This she had the sagacity to perceive, and hated him in return.

She wanted therefore little inducement to become an instrument in his overthrow. L'Abbé Dubois, however, the more effectually to secure her, conveyed a sum of money into her pockets. She was in the habit of talking with the Queen, and took an opportunity of introducing the Cardinal into conversation. It was not difficult to persuade, that so unfortunate a minister ought to be discarded.

According to other accounts, the blow came from the court of Parma.

The Duke saw with uneasiness the flames kindling on all sides, and his own dominions in the midst of the conflagration. All the dangers which

threatened him, he imputed to the temerity of the Spanish minister, and he felt, besides, considerable resentment in beholding one of the meanest of his former subjects raised to a height in which he no longer felt himself under the necessity of endeavouring to preserve his favour.

The Earl of Peterborough happened to be at this time in Paris. This nobleman was very much in the habit of wandering over Europe, in quest of some adventure. He was tormented in a sovereign degree with the passion of being talked of. The Regent thought him a proper person to be employed on this occasion. He opened to him his wishes. The Earl was delighted with the commission, and immediately set out for Italy. He had an interview at Novi with a person from the Duke of Parma, and the whole business was settled. The Marquis Scoti was dispatched to Madrid. Alberoni, suspecting his errand, did all he could to exclude him from an audience. This however was not possible with a person coming on a special mission from the Queen's uncle and father-in-law.

On the 5th of December, Philip took his departure from Madrid, and went to the palace of Pardo. He left an order under his hand for Alberoni to quit Spain immediately.

Alberoni would have wished to have seen the King, not doubting but his feeble, wavering mind would not be able to support, in a personal conference, the resolution he had been prevailed upon

to adopt. But his enemies were too wary not to provide for this circumstance. At their suggestion, the order for his departure was accompanied with a strict injunction not again to come into the presence of the King or Queen.

He was obliged to set out. It is said, he carried away with him the will of Charles II. which called Philip to the crown of Spain. An officer was sent after him, who excecuted his commission with insolence and contumely.

He pursued his journey through Arragon and Catalonia: on his way he was attacked by the Miquelets. Putting himself with much spirit at the head of his servants, he succeeded in dispersing the robbers.

He obtained a passport from the Regent to go through France to Italy. He met a person whom that prince commisioned to wait upon him, and, under pretence of showing him every civility in his power, surprise what secrets he could from him. Alberoni saw his object, and frankly told him what he saw. Nevertheless he spoke with great freedom, described the King and Queen of Spain,—the former as an uxorious bigot, the latter as possessed with a perfect fury.

It was reported, that he communicated an offer to the Regent, to disclose all the state secrets that had been entrusted to him, particularly the names of all the persons concerned in the conspiracy of

Cellamare. It was added, the proposal was received with contempt.

His effects were strictly searched at the custom-house of Narbonne, and no money or jewels found among them.

At Antibes he embarked on board a Genoese galley for Sestri di Levante.

The Pope prevailed upon the senate of Genoa to have him arrested. He was however soon liberated, as nothing appeared to his charge, which, in the opinion of the Genoese government, justified his detention. He now took refuge in the Imperial fiefs of Lombardy, where he remained concealed, frequently changing the place of his residence, in the disguise of a layman, accompanied by a single servant.

Clement XI. dying in 1721, he was invited to the conclave for the election of his successor.

In this conclave he had himself many votes for the papacy.

The Pope elected, Innocent XIII. set him, two years after, perfectly at his ease, by declaring him absolved of all accusations.

He had established his residence at Rome, and lived with much elegance and splendour.

Persons commenting on this elegance and splendour, observed that so much money had not passed through his hands without considerable benefit to himself; yet the praise of disinterestedness has been

given to him by writers nowise partial to his memory. He had literally nothing on setting out in life, yet at subsequent periods he derived wealth from sources he might acknowledge.

The money and jewels he was said to have carried out of Spain, did not appear on the examination at Narbonne, as has been related.

While he resided at Rome he corresponded with some of the most distinguished persons in Europe, both literary and political.

Voltaire, in his Life of Charles XII. paid him a number of compliments. He wrote the historian a letter of thanks, which was answered in that style of studied flattery, Voltaire never failed to offer up to the great:—The obsequious writer wishes to see him Pope.

He was occasionally consulted in matters relating to the Spanish monarchy and the interests of the Catholic religion.

He often saw the Pretender, and more than once was useful in composing differences which broke out in his family; not always, however, to the satisfaction of the Pretender himself, who, in some of his letters, heavily complained of his conduct.

The eyes of the public followed him in his retirement, and plans of stirring and comprehensive ambition were supposed working in his thoughts. It could not be believed that so active a mind was entirely asleep.

The story of the time was, that he sent a Mr. Bernier, whom he had formerly known, when in the service of the Duke de Vendome, to examine the cities and strong places in Turkey. Mr. Bernier, it was said, was three years executing this commission in the disguise of a Turk.

A publication appeared, detailing a scheme, pretended to have been formed by the Cardinal, for reducing the Turkish Empire to the obedience of the Christian Princes, and dividing it among the conquerors.*

* This publication appeared in London under the following title: "Cardinal Alberoni's scheme for reducing the Turkish Empire to the obedience of Christian Princes; and a partition of the conquests; together with a scheme of a perpetual Diet, for establishing the public tranquillity; translated from an authentic copy in the hands of the Prince de la Torella, the Sicilian ambassador at the Court of France." The heads of this scheme are, that at a congress to be held at Ratisbon, an alliance shall be entered into among all Christian potentates, for the end above-mentioned. At this congress, the quotas to be furnished by each of the allies in men, money, or ships, shall be fixed. The Emperor and German Empire are to raise a hundred thousand men. The Empress of Russia to act against the Tartars with a hundred thousand more. Another army of one hundred and twenty thousand to be raised by France, Spain, and the other powers of Europe.

A fleet of a hundred ships of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, to be supplied by the maritime states. The number of thirty ships of the line and ten frigates is assigned to England. The maritime states are likewise to fit out squadrons for blockading Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; which are afterwards to be put into their hands. Some notions are

About the year 1740, he was appointed Vice-Legate of Romagna. Ravenna became the place of his residence, and he had the pleasure of seeing himself the first man in a town which had witnessed his very obscure beginnings.

While in this situation he conceived the burlesque ambition of overturning the little republic of St. Marino; and exerted in this ridiculous enterprise the restless spirit which had once disturbed Europe.

Ravenna however was indebted to him for some useful works.

The overflowing of the rivers which descend from the Apenines, and which had inundated the surrounding country, and threatened destruction to the city itself, he conducted into handsome and well-contrived canals, which at once carried off

offered upon the mode in which the war is to be carried on. The Turks conquered, the Duke of Holstein, Gottorp, is to be declared Emperor of Constantinople. The Turkish dominions in Asia and Africa, with the province of Romania in Europe, to form this new Eastern Empire. The Catholic to be the established religion. Then are allotted to the different powers their portions of the spoil.

To this was annexed a proposal for a permanent Diet, composed of deputies from all Christendom, to hold its sittings at Ratisbon, to which all disputes that should arise among Christian states were to be referred. The majority to decide. The state refusing to submit to the decision, to be proceeded against by the Diet.

I have given the above account of this publication, as it is scarce. It is to be seen in the King's library.

the superfluity of waters, and opened a communication between Ravenna and the sea.

The last years of his life he passed in his native city of Placentia.

Though it should seem his mind was but slightly tinctured with a disposition to devotion, yet, at even an early period of life, he occasionally solaced or amused himself with the perusal of devout tracts. A copy of *Thomas-à-Kempis de Imitatione Christi* was preserved in the Ducal library at Parma, with marginal annotations in his own hand-writing, recording the daily occurrences of his life, which indicated it as his constant companion. What was merely a fashion or habit at first, we may suppose to have strengthened and become genuine devotion at a more advanced time, and in a situation of seclusion and retirement.

He erected a seminary at St. Lazaro, close to the ramparts of the town.

In the campaign of 1746, between the confederate powers of France and Spain on the one side, and the Austrians on the other, the armies coming in presence of each other in the neighbourhood of Placentia, he had the mortification to see his seminary, which had been taken possession of by the Austrians, demolished by the artillery of the allies. He was obliged to take refuge in the town.

This was so straitened by the neighbourhood of

the hostile armies, that he could not procure any but the meanest accommodations. He was obliged to boil his own pot with some green wood, just cut from a tree that grew behind his house. The furniture of his apartment consisted of a bed, a table, and four chairs.

The Spanish soldiers spoke of him with the greatest respect and admiration, as of a man who had laboured for the glory of their monarchy, and been sacrificed to the envy of foreigners.

His conversation retained to the last an uncommon portion of gaiety and vivacity. He spoke Italian, French, and Spanish, with equal facility, passing from one language to the other, according to the persons he conversed with. The political transactions of the time were the ordinary subjects of his conversation, and he would illustrate and enliven his remarks with anecdotes of his own life. He frequently quoted Tacitus, and his quotations were always in the original.

He died at Placentia, June 26, 1752.

The greater part of his wealth descended to a nephew, Abbé Alberoni.

Alberoni was low in stature, inclined to be corpulent. The expression of his face was, upon the whole, ignoble; yet there was a great deal of vivacity in his eye.

His manners in his highest elevation retained a coarseness and vulgarity derived from the habits of his early life.

The historian who has given the best account he has been able to collect, of his various and eventful life, may be now called upon to pronounce judgment on the whole of his character, as a statesman and politician; to decide whether he deserved the name of *great* man, which at one period was generally applied to him, or that of a turbulent adventurer, which he has since more frequently obtained.

Voltaire, in his own inconsistency upon this subject, has given an image of the public opinion. In his Life of Charles XII. published during the life of Alberoni, and while the Cardinal, though not in possession of power, was in the enjoyment of riches and honours, he speaks of him as a great and commanding genius. In his History of Lewis XV. one of his last historical productions, he mentions him with derision and contempt.

The name of great man has been given with little or no regard to the moral tendency of any scheme of conduct. When we hear of a great man, it never occurs to us, to inquire whether his fellow-creatures were benefited by his life and actions. The expression denotes a certain strength and vigour of mind, without attention to the salutary or pernicious nature of the purposes for which they were exerted. Indeed, as projects of ruin and destruction require more of boldness, of courage, of those qualities which dazzle the multitude; if we look over the list of great men, we

shall find few whose steps have not been marked by desolation and blood. The humble artisan, the sober merchant, the peaceable industrious citizen of any description, has no reason to thank Heaven for the appearance of a great man in his or any neighbouring country. It is no objection to the title, that thousands perished by his ambition; that the fruits of industry were laid waste in whole kingdoms; that his schemes occasioned the overthrow of flourishing commonwealths, the dispersion and ruin of innumerable families, the misery of nations!

It may safely be affirmed, that a succession of great men would convert the world into a wilderness; reduce human nature to a savage state; and leave the scattered inhabitants of a desolated globe, no weapons of heroism, but rude clubs and stones; no trophies to snatch from each other, but the skins of wild beasts with which they covered their nakedness; no conquests to make, but the caverns of their rocks, and the acorns of their native oaks!

It is not therefore much to the purpose, to inquire whether the projects of Alberoni would, in the event of success, have produced any benefit to the country he governed, or the countries affected by his measures? Any reflections to this effect must be deemed collateral to the point in question.

Considering only what intellectual strength and vigour he may be supposed to have exerted, there is no doubt but the number and variety of his pro-

jects, with the industry he displayed while they were in agitation, indicate a mind above the common level, impatient of tame repose, kindling with the imagination of great objects, ambitious of astonishing mankind. But the astonishment which converts itself into admiration and applause, is not simply created by ambition, however daring; there must be success, and here fortune claims a large share in the honours of a great man.

When we survey the history of the world, we do not find effects at all correspond to any causes we can trace in human skill and ability, or any circumstances resulting from the exertions of man: so that every year witnesses the overthrow of some theory which appeared unanswerable till refuted by facts. Few men, however extended their knowledge, however various their reading and experience, will venture, from a view of any given combination of circumstances, to predict what event they will produce; and when they venture, seldom will their prediction be verified. These causes which are lost to our ignorance, we express by the obscure, mysterious word *fortune*; and our sentiments of admiration or censure, our emotion or indifference, for the most part, depend on this unknown presiding power.

Alberoni therefore, as an unsuccessful projector, cannot descend with much glory to posterity: it is sufficient he was unsuccessful; we need ask no further.

If, however, his ill success could not have been predicted, the causes appear, to our imaginations at least, in the state of things in which his projects were formed. We see him undertaking, with an exhausted treasury, a languid dispirited people, and a military force comparatively inconsiderable, to change the face of Europe, in opposition to the greatest powers united to thwart and counteract his views.

The reader may have gathered from the picture I have exhibited of the Spanish monarchy, and the other great members of the European commonwealth at that period, that, in every point of view, his projects wore the most unpromising aspect.

Many of the errors in his warlike enterprises, as they struck me, have been noted in the progress of the narrative. Almost every thing appears to have been faulty both in the conception and detail of the execution. As a negociator too, his imprudence and precipitancy are conspicuous. We should not forget, however, how very different might have been our conclusions, had success attended his designs.

The same historian who hazards these strictures, might have been employed in tracing the connection between the effects he accomplished, and the very happy combination of circumstances in which he conceived his projects, and the consummate skill and address with which he conducted them. Such is the value of human fame!

It has been premised, that the good or evil of his measures was a question different from that which it was proposed to discuss. With reference however to this question, it would be injustice to withhold a topic which has been offered by those who have treated his memory with the least severity, that his projects, however wild and chimerical, had, by their boldness and a certain air of grandeur which accompanied them, the merit of awakening the Spanish nation out of the lethargy into which it had sunk, and though unsuccessful in their immediate objects, might have excited a spirit calculated to produce great effects.

THE

LIFE

OF

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

WILLIAM, Baron and Duke of Ripperda, was born the 7th of March, 1680,* in the province of Groningen, one of the seven provinces which compose the federal republic of Holland.

His family was of ancient nobility. The name of Ripperda appears among the signatures to the treaty of Munster, as that of one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries.

His immediate ancestors had persevered in the profession of the Catholic religion, though a branch of the family had gone over to the Protestant. He received his education in the college of Jesuits at Cologne.

* I have taken this date of the birth of Ripperda from the Spanish author, but it does not agree with what l'Abbé Montgon says, that at the period of the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, in the year 1725, he was more than sixty.

Early in life he married a rich heiress of the province of Holland. Seeing himself in possession of great wealth, he aspired to the honours and public situations of his country. To qualify himself for these, he renounced the religion in which he had been brought up.

He was Colonel in the service of the States during the war of the succession. He employed the leisure of his military profession in becoming acquainted with several languages. He could speak with fluency French, Spanish, and Latin. He applied himself at the same time to the study of trade and manufactures. Towards the end of the war, he was elected Deputy for his province to the States-General.

He was ambitious of being employed abroad in a diplomatic capacity; and for this purpose was forward in displaying the accomplishments which might recommend him.

During the congress of Utrecht, he sought the acquaintance of the several foreign ministers, and busily mixed in the political circles which gathered round that celebrated assembly.

The peace of Utrecht put an end to the long war which had ravaged Europe, but left many points of litigation among the contending powers yet unsettled. Commercial arrangements of importance remained to be adjusted between Spain and the Dutch Republic. To accomplish this was a mission requiring some skill and address.

Ripperda eagerly solicited it, and was in consequence apppointed.

He set out for Spain in May, 1715, leaving behind him his wife and a son and daughter. She died in 1717, just as she was preparing to join him.

He brought with him on his arrival at Madrid only the character and title of envoy-extraordinary, but he received the year following his credentials as ambassador from the States.

A treaty of commerce was at this time in a train of negociation between England and Spain. Ripperda lent his assistance in forwarding it, and received the commendations of the English ministry.

Philip V. had recently espoused Elizabeth of Parma. The office of prime minister had been given to Cardinal Giudice; but the real power resided in the Queen and her creature, Abbé Alberoni, envoy of Parma.

The court of Spain exhibited a scene extremely tempting to the views of Ripperda. Chance and caprice reigned with absolute dominion.

The adventurers who succeeded, kindled hope in all those who had yet to make good their advancement. Here then, as in her chosen temple, he resolved to devote himself to the worship of Fortune.

He possessed many of those superficial endowments which dazzle the great as well as the little

vulgar. He discoursed with much fluency and rapidity on all subjects, and nothing seemed difficult to his lively imagination. He succeeded in persuading many of the principal persons about the court, that he would be an acquisition to the Spanish monarchy. Those who had a taste for conversions, were gained by the hopes he held out to them of returning to the Catholic faith.

Giudice soon gave way to the man whom he had been allowed to represent, and Alberoni became prime minister in appearance, as he already was in effect.

Ripperda was made sensible of the change, by the check which was imposed upon his enterprises. The mockery of devotion could not blind the wily Parmesan. He appeared a rival adventurer, pursuing the same objects of power and wealth. The two politicians maintained a shew of good-will; but Ripperda did not fail to cabal against the minister. He was the meanest in the crowd of his daily worshippers, but he had secret interviews with the King and Queen, censured his measures, insinuated that he himself would be able to contrive much more advantageous plans, and, with the connivance at least of D'Aubenton, the confessor, if not absolutely in concert with him, laboured for his overthrow.

His interviews with the King and Queen gave him a thorough insight into their characters; and

he resolved no longer to delay the change of country he had meditated.

He had continued all this time ambassador of the States, and in this quality was instructed by his masters, to present a memorial against the embargo laid on the Dutch shipping, a little before the expedition for the conquest of Sardinia. It was in the beginning of March, 1718, he set out from Madrid on his return to Holland, where he proposed resigning his employment, and then transferring himself to Spain. This he did with all expedition. The States declared themselves satisfied with his conduct in their service. He might have looked to other and more distinguished situations in his country. But all his thoughts were turned to the execution of his scheme.

Having settled his private affairs, he returned to Madrid in June of the same year, taking his children along with him.

He immediately fulfilled the expectations of the Catholic zealots, by again changing his religion. The ceremony was performed at the palace of St. Ildephonso, in the presence of the Prince of Asturias, and several of the grandees of Spain. A devout sermon was preached on the occasion, and concluded by a laboured panegyric on the new convert.

Just at the time of his arrival, the expedition which afterwards appeared intended against Sicily, was on the point of sailing.

As well to be busy about something, and display his genius in political plans and speculations, as out of the secret desire which possessed him of supplanting Alberoni, he drew up a report for the perusal of the King, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the best employment for the troops which were assembled, would be to make a descent in some part of Scotland or Ireland, and carrying from thence the war into the heart of the British dominions, replace the Pretender on the throne. He sedulously cultivated every means of advancing himself.

Knowing the influence of the pious cabal in the court of such a prince as Philip, as well as the singular zeal and activity they exerted both in their friendships and enmities, he spared no pains to secure their good word; putting on the appearance of singular religious fervour, expressing the utmost contrition for his past errors, and declaring he could never be sufficiently grateful to God, who had opened his eyes to the truth.

But his morality did not keep pace with his religion; for, at the same time, he applied to the English envoy for fourteen thousand pistoles, in the name of Cardinal Alberoni, which the Cardinal never heard of.

He sought all the avenues to the Queen's favour, procuring recommendations to her from her mother the Duchess of Parma, and availing himself of the good offices of the envoy from that court.

To extend and increase the opinion he had already established of the extent of his knowledge and capacity, his pen was indefatigable, at the same time, in drawing up schemes and projects for the improvement of the Spanish commerce and marine. Alberoni could not but be aware to what all this industry tended. Hoping however perhaps to engage him in his interest, or at least give a different direction to the activity of his mind, he employed him to get over workmen from Holland, for the purpose of establishing a cloth-manufactory, of which he was to have the superintendency; and granted him a pension and estate.

Ripperda, by means of some friends, procured fifty master-workmen, who landed at St. Ander, and were thence conducted to a place called Azeca, where the establishment was first laid. But, it being observed that this situation was unhealthy, ill-supplied with provisions, and not possessing those conveniences of wood and water, which were necessary to carry on the manufacture, the establishment was transferred to Guadalaxara; where it remains to this day.

This establishment, the sole monument of Ripperda's interference in the affairs of the Spanish monarchy, was, according to his plan, to be on a very large scale, and to accomplish a very important object. It was intended to supply not only the home-market, but the whole of Spanish America; so that Spain would become freed from

the sort of tribute she now pays foreign nations, particularly the English.* It was to employ at home the whole of the wool she produces. He calculated this might be done by means of a thousand looms he proposed setting at work in his manufactory.

The effects he had in contemplation have not been produced. Spain is still indebted to other countries for the greater part of the cloth she consumes, and for what is used in her colonies. However, a good deal is fabricated at Guadalaxara. The works are entirely at the expense of the King, and on his account. But though he possesses the monopoly of home-made cloth, he is, at the end of every year, a considerable loser. There is not, in the first place, that vigilance and economy which a private person labouring for himself, and at his own risk, would be able to introduce. In the next place, in order to maintain any thing like a competition with what is imported from abroad,† the King must sell his cloth at a reduced price. These two circumstances account for the loss regularly incurred, notwithstanding the cheapness of the

* At one time the Spaniards paid the English two millions sterling for woollens. The sale of English cloths in Spain is, I am informed, considerably fallen off of late years. The Spaniards, however, use a variety of other woollens imported from England.

† The Spanish cloth is inferior to the foreign, chiefly in the dye and cleanness of surface.

wool, and that there is no deficiency in hands to be employed, or in any of the natural productions and circumstances requisite to the prosperity of the manufactory.

Still this establishment is of the greatest use to the country. It has spread an air of industry and cheerful busy population all around. It affords employment to twenty-four thousand persons in the town and the neighbouring districts. A late French traveller says, not a single beggar is to be seen among all the inhabitants.*

Ripperda, however, was not diverted, by this commission of establishing a manufactory, from pursuing his intrigues against the minister; neither was he softened by the grant of the pension and estate: so that the minister, a little before the loss of his power, was provoked to recall all these favours. Ripperda was, at the same time, deprived of his superintendency, his pension, and estate.

His hostilities were, no doubt, animated with the greater vehemence and zeal from the fear which must have hung over him, of being detected in the money he had secreted.

He had soon the pleasure of seeing driven from his situation the person whom he might now regard as his declared enemy, and whose inquiries might lead to his humiliation and punishment.

* Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne.

The only fruit, however, he immediately derived from his fall, was to have his apprehensions quieted, and to regain what had been taken away from him.

An interval of some years elapsed before he emerged from the obscurity of private life. His principal employment during this time was in forwarding the establishment at Guadalaxara :— not that he had abandoned his ambitious views. Some opportunities occurred, of cultivating the favour of the Queen, which he did not lose sight of.

In 1721, he quitted his state of widowhood, and married a noble Castilian lady, by whom he had two sons.

The beginning of 1724 witnessed a singular revolution in the court of Madrid.

King Philip, sinking under the malady of mind and body which had long oppressed him, felt his religious scruples every day acquire new power over him. Père D'Aubenton, whose strong decisive manner had given him great relief, was dead. He had been succeeded by another Jesuit, Father Bermudez, who did not possess the same faculty in solving his doubts and perplexities : so that the King could not be dissuaded from executing the design he had formed, of resigning his crown to his son. It may be imagined how disagreeable this design was to the Queen.

The Prince who would be called upon to wear

the crown, was the son of the former marriage; so that she was exposed to receive the treatment often bestowed on a step-mother. As long as she was supported by Père D'Aubenton, she had been able to divert the scheme of abdication: but, deprived of the assistance of his authority, she was obliged to put on the appearance of consent.

The King and she retired to the palace of St. Ildephonso, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the north of Madrid; where he amused himself in planting extensive gardens, and building and adorning a church. She took care to have conveyed to the place of her retreat all the money she could by any means amass. A considerable sum was mentioned at the time, no less than four hundred thousand ducats.

Ripperda, convinced, from the character of the new King, that the real power would continue to reside with her, and that she would seize the first opportunity of resuming her rank in the state, looked upon her still as the person who might raise him to the elevation he aspired to. He contrived to open a correspondence with her; and she was so far influenced by his suggestions, as to send large sums and her jewels to Parma.

What he foresaw happened. The young King Lewis died a few months after he had been proclaimed; and Philip, though not without some scruples, and opposition from his conscience, yielding to the strong bent of his inclinations,

returned to the exercise of an authority of which he had bitterly felt the suspension.

Lewis had not been wanting in deference and submission to his father. He consulted him on every occasion; and the father's answers were the rule of his government. The Queen and her adviser, the Marquis de Grimaldi, dictated these answers, and she might consider herself as reigning. Yet to be deprived of the pomp and ceremonial of royalty, was extremely irksome to her. It was equally so to Philip.—Minds trained up in the manner theirs had been, could find no occupation in solitude and retirement. Ripperda had introduced himself to the Queen; she had the power of rewarding the assiduities he had paid her, when not actually seated on the throne; and he might entertain well-founded hopes of conciliating her favour. He had no rivals to encounter. Alberoni was gone; D'Aubenton, whose influence might have been exerted in counteracting his views, was in his grave; Bermudez would neither be willing nor able to give him any opposition.

After the departure of Alberoni, Philip acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and peace was restored to Spain. The Spaniards evacuated Sicily and Sardinia. The former, according to the stipulations of the treaty, was given to the Emperor; and the latter, to the Duke of Savoy.

But the scheme of the Quadruple Alliance did not answer the purpose which the powers, who

with so much deliberation and difficulty framed it, had expected; points of dispute still subsisted, particularly between the Emperor and King of Spain.

Though by the express terms of the Quadruple Alliance, to which the Emperor appeared an original party, he categorically renounced the title of King of Spain; yet, on some pretence or other, he continued to assume it after the treaty had been completed by the accession of all the powers that were intended to be included. There was no settlement respecting the affairs of Italy.

As early as 1721, a general congress had been convened at Cambray, to carry into execution the purposes of the Quadruple Alliance; but in the end nothing was done. Four years elapsed, which were consumed in dinners and parties of pleasure among the Plenipotentiaries assembled, or in discussing and settling trifling points of ceremonial.

In the mean time, the Queen of Spain was tormented with the most vehement impatience to procure a settlement for her son Don Carlos. A number of difficulties had arisen respecting the succession of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, which the Quadruple Alliance gave to her children. She was extremely anxious to have these difficulties removed; and she thought the best method of doing this, was to open a negociation immediately with the Emperor. An alliance with

the court of Vienna tempted her in another point of view. She cherished a hope of marrying her son to the eldest Archduchess. Thoughts of such an alliance had been entertained in another quarter; and the motives which had prompted those thoughts, produced more than common zeal to carry them into effect.

There was a knot of reverend politicians at Rome, whose time was whimsically divided between heaven and earth,—between pious contemplation and worldly intrigue.

Cardinal Alberoni took a distinguished part in the deliberations of this mysterious circle. Political schemes and projects were his natural element, and he resorted to them as the best mode of filling up his time. There was a brother Cardinal not behind hand with him, either in eagerness of speculation, or gravity and importance of decision; Cardinal Cienfuegos by name. Father Alonzo Cienfuegos, a Jesuit, was a native of Spain. He had published a most profound treatise on the Trinity, which placed him in the highest rank of theologians. He however occasionally suspended his theological studies to think of the affairs of this world. He had been a zealous partisan of the house of Austria in his native country; which procured him a Cardinal's hat and the employment of Imperial resident at Rome.

These congenial spirits, discoursing on the state of the world, agreed in lamenting the fallen for-

tunes of the Pretender, and in the merit of re-establishing him; by which three kingdoms would be gained over to the orthodox faith. But how was this to be done? how was the Catholic religion to make head against its enemies, at a time when Protestant states were combining, and many Catholic princes appeared extremely lukewarm in the cause, or rather inclined to the heretics? These were the questions which they asked themselves. The appearances of combination to which the brother Cardinals referred, arose from a transaction which happened in the city of Thorn, in the month of July, 1724.

At a procession celebrated by the Catholics of the town, a riot broke out between them and the Protestants. The latter insulted some images the others held in great reverence, and committed other outrages. The Catholics carried their complaints to the Polish diet. Judges were deputed to inflict severe punishment for the affront they had received. The proceedings were carried on with all the spirit of fanaticism. Magistrates and grave respectable citizens suffered on the scaffold.

The Protestants all over Europe were filled with indignation and alarm. Once the sword of religious persecution was drawn, and blood began to flow, where would it stop? Some of the Catholic princes of Germany betrayed dispositions hostile to their Protestant subjects. The Protestant presses teemed with publications, calling aloud

for vengeance. The King of Prussia, and other princes of the same persuasion, appeared disposed to espouse the Protestant cause.

Alberoni and Cienfuegos, struck by these appearances, and taking notice of the inclination of the French ministry to cultivate amity with England,* came to this result, that nothing would more materially serve the interests of the Catholic religion, than establishing a close alliance and connection between the Emperor and King of Spain. A sort of treaty was concluded between them, Alberoni representing Spain, and Cienfuegos the Emperor. The scheme was immediately transmitted to Madrid, and the pious cabal instructed zealously to forward it.

The scheme happened to coincide, as it has been observed, with the hopes and views of the Queen. It was therefore adopted without much hesitation.

* St. Simon is exasperated at this inclination. He accuses Dubois, from whom he supposes it to have originated, with having been bribed by the English court. It continued during the administration of the Duke of Bourbon by the same means; his mistress, Madame de Prie, who had an absolute ascendant over him, having been bribed likewise. He does not say Cardinal Fleuri was bribed, but he was subjugated by Walpole, the English ambassador. It is impossible to investigate the validity of the charge against the two former, but from whatever causes this long peace proceeded, it promoted the happiness of mankind, and could not have been injurious to France, unless it be maintained that the interests of France are incompatible with the tranquillity of the world.

Ever since the correspondence commenced between Ripperda and the Queen, during the short period of her retreat, he was much in her good graces. He had been attentive to all the little means of confirming her favourable disposition. He had continued paying assiduous court to the Jesuits and their devout followers. The Jesuits looked upon him with pride and exultation, as brought over to the true faith by the force of their arguments. He was their religious child, the plant of their rearing. He was befriended by their partisans, and was singled out as the most proper person to be sent to the court of Vienna. Those who recommended him, spoke of his skill in languages, and his acquaintance with Prince Eugene, which he had formed during the war of the succession.

How far his head was in that state of calmness and composure which qualified him for a negociator, the reader will judge by the project he delivered in before he left Spain. He proposed that one hundred thousand infantry and thirty thousand horse should be immediately raised, and a hundred ships of the line be equipped, without very clearly explaining how or for what purpose; only he gave to understand, the regulations he would introduce into the trade with the colonies would produce great treasures. An annual saving of at least ten millions of crowns would immediately accrue.

This proposal however was thought to denote a great statesman. He was promised the place of head minister immediately on his return.

He set out for Vienna in October, 1724, and arrived there the month following. He resided in the suburbs, under the name of Count Pfaffenberg. He eluded the vigilance of all the foreign ministers during most of the time he preserved this incognito. It was only in the February after his arrival, that St. Saphorin, envoy from the King of Great Britain, learned from Petcum, minister of the Duke of Holstein, that a Dutchman, the description of whose person answered to that of Ripperda, held long and secret conferences with Count Zinzerdorf by night.

He however could flatter himself with very little success in these multiplied conferences. The Emperor's ministers, who saw no great advantage in an alliance with Spain, unless Spain yielded in every point, and who were encouraged by the eagerness of Ripperda, would not listen to any treaty, in which he was not prepared to make every sacrifice.

Ripperda might have returned without accomplishing any thing, when, very seasonably, [illegible] came to him to conclude the treaty on any [illegible] Philip and his Queen had just received from [illegible] a severe mortification, and what they deemed an inexpiable affront. In the bitterness of their vexation, they thought they could not make sufficient

haste to unite themselves to the Emperor. The circumstances were these.

The conclusion of peace between the King of Spain and the Regent Duke of Orleans, had been followed by a double alliance between the two branches of the Bourbon family.

Don Carlos was affianced to Mademoiselle Beaujolois, fourth daughter of the Duke; and an Infanta of Spain, only four years old, passed into France as the future spouse of the young King. As long as the Regent lived, this arrangement remained undisturbed. But no sooner was he dead, than it was proposed to set it aside. The Duke of Bourbon, who succeeded him in the direction of affairs, dreading to see the family of Orleans, whose resentment he had incurred, ascend the throne, was impatient to give the young King a wife capable of bearing children. In the midst of these thoughts, he was thrown into the greatest alarms by an illness which befel this prince, and which appeared for some time to threaten his life. He lost no time after his recovery in sending home the Infanta, to make room for a queen of a riper age.

Ripperda, with the latitude allowed him, brought at length his negociation to a close. Three treaties were produced. Two were immediately made public, the other not till some months after. The one, known by the name of the treaty of Vienna, was accompanied by a treaty of com-

merce. The political arrangements were, for the most part, the same as those of the Quadruple Alliance. The Emperor's ministers however contrived to introduce an article, which guaranteed the succession of his hereditary dominions to his daughters, on failure of male issue.

It was in the commercial part of the negociation, that the greatest advantages were extorted from Spain, as the price of any treaty whatever.

The Emperor, desirous of introducing the benefits of trade into his dominions, had erected two trading companies, one at Trieste, and the other at Ostend.

The letters-patent establishing the Ostend company, are of the year 1722. They permitted the company to carry on commerce with both East and West Indies. The maritime states, particularly the Dutch, protested against this permission. They contended that by special treaties and public acts, the commerce in question was interdicted to the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands. Spain, but the year before, joined in this protest. Nevertheless the Emperor's ministers obtained from Ripperda every concession for this company they could wish for. The Spanish ports, both in Europe and the Indies, were thrown open to its ships, and every encouragement given to its enterprises.

As some compensation for these advantages surrendered by Spain, the Emperor entered into a stipulation, which appeared in the treaty that was

afterwards published, to obtain for the King of Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca, by good offices if possible; if not, by open force. The same treaty regulated the succours to be furnished on both sides, in the event of a war.

In addition to these treaties, were several articles intended to remain for ever secret; France was to be despoiled of several provinces, the Pretender to be replaced on the throne of England. Another, which must have been dictated by the bigotry and visionary spirit which distinguished the Spanish counsels, and of which the Emperor's ministers must have perceived the madness, was, that the Emperor and King of Spain bound themselves utterly to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and not to lay down their arms till this design was fully and effectually executed.

All the commercial and other sacrifices that have been mentioned, did not satisfy the Emperor's ministers. Ripperda was obliged to promise that Prince immense sums of money, and he probably distributed among the ministers themselves some part of the large remittances he received during his residence at Vienna.* Ripperda having, by

* The only account he could give of these remittances was what the Spanish author calls cuentas del gran Capitan, which means a very general and loose account. This account, such as it was, does not appear. He was not remarkable for purity in money matters, and a good deal might have been appropriated to his own use; some part we may suppose was employed in forwarding the negociation

one means or another, concluded his negociation, and gratified the wish of the King and Queen of Spain to be allied on any terms with the Emperor, was formally appointed ambassador. He dropped his incognito on receiving his appointment, and, on the 22d of August, 1725, made his public entry with great magnificence into Vienna. His good fortune completely overthrew whatever sobriety of understanding he had remaining; nothing could surpass the extravagance of his conduct and conversation during the short period of his embassy. He promulgated in every company the secret articles lately concluded; he announced the determination of his court, to espouse the cause of the Pretender, and declared that to promote his interest, was the principal object of his negociation; and that he had secured the concurrence of the Emperor. The expressions he made use of, were as unlooked for, as the matter of his discourses:—Let King George take care of himself, would he say, or he will soon be sent back to his German principality. When he spoke of the treaties of which he had been the author, [illegible] bounds to the praises he conferred on [illegible]. The public could not find out in what these [illegible] were merited; lampoons and pasquinades against him appeared in all parts of Europe. A [illegible] advertisement was posted up one night on the door of a Padre Ascanio, Spanish envoy at Florence. If any one can show that a single article in the

treaties lately concluded at Vienna, is to the advantage of Spain, let him apply within; and he will receive a hundred pistoles, as a reward for so useful a discovery.

There was a man at Vienna, about as wild and extraordinary as Ripperda himself,—the Duke of Wharton,* a nobleman with some genius, but not a particle of judgment.

He had lately, from a natural levity and inconstancy of character, abandoned his country, and repaired to Rome to offer his services to the Pre-

* The picture which Pope has drawn of him, must be regarded as quite the sport of fancy, bearing no resemblance to the original. Those glaring tints, those contrasted lights, those curious and whimsical combinations, are not to be found in real life. The truth is, the circle of real life is but a dull round; the painter that should exhibit it without any colouring or exaggeration, would excite little interest. This is felt by those writers who undertake to weave fictitious narratives, without borrowing assistance from the admitted marvellous. They must have recourse to a marvellous of their own; strong decided characters, violent passions, unlooked-for incidents, extremes of virtue and vice, beauty smiling with every grace and accomplishment! These and similar particulars they blend together, and thus is their work completed! The young unexperienced mind, who knows nothing of the world but from such representations, is quite surprised to find every thing so tame and languid; every thing sketched, as it were, in faint water-colours; men and women employed, for the most part, in the business of their professions; those who have no profession, in getting rid of their time!

The romance of real life lies indeed within a narrow compass,

tender. He was wandering from court to court, with the busy air of an agent for his new master. In the course of his political rambles, he came to Vienna while Ripperda was there; the mission of Wharton led him to visit Ripperda, and similarity of character soon converted the acquaintance into intimacy.

They frequently saw each other; and their conferences were carried on with such an air of diplomatic mystery and importance, as to engage every one's attention. St. Saphorin, a vigilant minister, did not fail to transmit intelligence of these mysterious interviews, as well as of the discourses of Ripperda which seemed to throw light upon them, to the English court.

The English ministers, considering the support of the reigning family as essential to the civil and religious liberties of their country, thought, in a matter of such vital importance, they could not exert too much watchfulness or take too many precautions. They were not moved by the raillery or declamations of their adversaries in and out of parliament, who accused them of spreading unnecessary alarms. They were content to be thought too timid, when confidence and neglect might lead to the destruction of every thing dear to Englishmen. Immortal thanks to these generous spirits! If this island is free,—the freest country that ever flourished on the face of this globe, smiling in all the glories of liberty, allied to order

and good government; to their perseverance, in defiance of ridicule and noisy rhetoric, is it owing! Their firmness of circumspection, their courage of prudence, their resolution of not being intimidated out of their wise fears, saved our ancestors from the calamities which bigotry, and restless, ungovernable ambition, would have poured on their heads!

In order to counteract the designs, whatever they might be, of the powers united by the treaty of Vienna, they formed the scheme of a counter-alliance; no time was lost in putting it in execution. The King of England undertook a journey to his German dominions: he had an interview with the King of Prussia, who was standing forward as protector of the Protestants in Poland and Germany. France, against whom the treaty of Vienna was principally directed, immediately signified her concurrence in the views of the two monarchs, and a treaty was concluded in the first days of September, between the three states, denominated the treaty of Hanover.

When Ripperda heard of this treaty, he exclaimed with frantic insolence, We will teach those little gentlemen to make treaties!

About the end of October, he set out from Vienna, on his return to Spain, after having given every one a singular notion both of himself and of the court that employed him.

He left behind a son by his first wife, nineteen

years old, who was appointed his successor in the embassy.

He had an audience of leave from the Emperor, and without seeing any one else, began his journey, accompanied by a single servant.

As he could not go through France, he took the road of Italy. He passed through Florence, where he saw the Grand Duke, to whom his presence could not be very agreeable, as a principal instrument in those arrangements which gave his dominions to the children of the Queen of Spain. He took shipping at Genoa for Barcelona.

Immediately after his landing, all the officers of the garrison went to wait upon him. He gave them an ample account of all his transactions at Vienna, told them the Emperor had one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to march at an hour's warning, and that Prince Eugene had assured him, the King of Spain should have, in case of war, as many more in six months. He shewed the utmost contempt for France, and particularly for the person of Monsieur le Duc* and his government.

* The Spanish author speaks frequently of Ripperda's attachment to the Duke of Bourbon, and of his relying much upon the latter's friendship. He inserts a letter, supposed to be written by Ripperda after his fall, in which he seems to attribute the disgrace that had befallen the Duke to the disposition he had evinced of patronising him. But it appears by Lord Harrington's correspondence, that as often as Ripperda had occasion during his ministry to speak of the Duke of Bourbon, he did it in the most insolent terms. It is clear,

Should the Hanoverian league, he said, dare to oppose themselves to the designs of the Emperor and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides; the King of Prussia, whom he called the grand grenadier, would be driven out of his country by the Emperor in one campaign, as the King of England would be also, in the same time, out of his dominions in Germany, and out of his English ones by the Pretender: he added that the reconciliation between France and Spain should never be whilst he had any authority; he only wished to live till it was brought about, as being assured he should then die a very old man.* Allowing himself but a short repose after his voyage, he took horse, and rode with all possible dispatch to Madrid, like a common courier. He arrived there the 11th of December, and alighting only for a few minutes at his house to see his wife, he went directly to the palace, booted and spurred as he had arrived.

It was late in the evening, and the King was closeted with the Marquis de Grimaldi; five or six courtiers were in the anti-chamber, who did not immediately recognise Ripperda. He took no notice of any one, but desired to be instantly admitted to the King. The officer in waiting informing him the King was engaged with the

therefore, the friendship mentioned as subsisting between them, is an error of the Spanish author.

* I have nearly transcribed Lord Harrington's account.

Marquis de Grimaldi, he answered in a tone of derision, and expressed great surprise and impatience at the length of Grimaldi's audience.

When Grimaldi came out, he eyed him with a supercilious air, and paid him no kind of attention. He remained a considerable time with the King.

The abruptness and secrecy of his departure from Vienna, gave rise to an opinion that he had been recalled in disgrace. It however immediately appeared that his conduct on that occasion was merely the result of whim, and of the singularity of his character. The morning after his conference with the King, he was declared secretary of state, without any particular department; immediately the whole management of foreign affairs was put into his hands, as he signified by a circular letter to the several ambassadors. He drew to himself the superintendency of the commerce and marine, and nearly engrossed at one time the whole authority of government. He received the title of Duke, and was created Grandee of Spain.

These accumulated honours flowed from a source the public were not acquainted with. He had indeed formed an alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; and though he had purchased this alliance by a number of sacrifices on the part of his master, he had done no more than comply with his master's wishes, and execute his orders. But to do this, required no great skill or

address, and his succeeding in this point did not appear to merit the extraordinary marks of gratitude and confidence he was gratified with.

The secret of his elevation was not discovered till afterwards. He contrived to persuade the King and Queen, particularly the latter, (who, from the eagerness and vehemence of her wishes, was ready to believe every thing that flattered them), that by a secret stipulation the eldest Archduchess was to be given to her son Don Carlos.* This delusion of the Queen was the sole foundation of his fortune. The moment her eyes were opened, he descended from his greatness. His ministry was one continued series of expedients to preserve the bandage he had fastened upon them. It is impossible to read without

* That he should have told this to the Queen, is easily accounted for; that he should have affirmed it every where as long as he was interested in propagating the belief of such a circumstance, is likewise probable: but that after his fall from power, when he had no motive to deceive, he should have mixed it with what were considered by the English court as discoveries of importance made to their ambassador, is very extraordinary. The marriage of the Archduchess appears in the confidential narrative of those discoveries communicated by Benjamine Keene to the Duke of Newcastle. We should be tempted to believe, there was in reality a stipulation to this effect, if all accounts did not concur in representing the assertion as an imposture of Ripperda, by which he supported his deciduous power. Shall we say, that he contracted such a habit of falsifying facts, that it did not leave him when he could have no view in putting it in practice?

some compassion the perplexities and embarrassments he was led into by one first principle, falsehood. Never man paid more dearly for the precarious rank and splendour he appeared to enjoy. He had recourse every day to some new invention. Pressed by the anxious doubts and questions of the Queen, he was obliged to fabricate a regular novel to satisfy her.

The Archduchess was soon to commence her journey to Spain; but the number of princes who aspired to her hand, and the angry passions that would possess them, if it was known the destined husband was chosen, rendered it necessary to conduct the matter with the utmost secrecy. Preparations were however making for her departure; her gowns and jewels were in readiness, the ladies to accompany her were appointed. All this was written to him in confidence by one of the number. He went so far as to produce letters he affirmed came to him from his supposed correspondent.

As, however, he was aware this deception must have an end, he formed another scheme; which was to compel, in some measure, the Emperor to do what, according to his story, he had promised,—to marry his daughter to the Spanish prince.

This he proposed accomplishing by bringing about a reconciliation with France, when he would use the weight and influence of that kingdom in determining the Emperor.

But it was not easy to open the way for this reconciliation. The passions of the Queen against the French government, excited by the sending back of her daughte, raged with unabated violence; and as she was persuaded of the intentions of the Imperial court to gratify her wishes in the marriage of her son, she was averse from every thing that might create a jealousy in the Emperor,* or interfere with the union she was anxious to cultivate with that prince.

The two objects of Ripperdas's policy were somewhat at variance with each other. All his hopes were ultimately founded in a reconciliation with France; and yet he could not manifest his desires for such an event, much less make advances towards it, without alarming the Queen, and exposing himself to a detection that must precipitate him from power.

The only method he could think of to extricate himself from these difficulties, was to engage, if possible, the French government to make the first advances on its side, and to put a great deal of anxiety and zeal in these advances. This, he persuaded himself, would happen, if he could create jealousy and suspicion between it and England, to whom it had united itself by the treaty of Hanover, if he could beget an opinion that England was ready to sacrifice the engagements of this treaty, with a view to the commercial advantages she might obtain from Spain. France, he calcu-

lated, seeing or thinking she saw this disposition in England to abandon her alliance, would hasten to renew her connection with Spain, to secure herself from a general abandonment.

He therefore communicated as much as possible with the English ambassador, and laboured to produce the appearance of a busy and [illegible] negociation;—the more busy and [illegible] should seem, the better it answered [illegible]. The place of English ambassador was filled by Colonel Stanhope, afterwards Lord H[illegible]ton.* He had been in the same situation during the [illegible] of Cardinal Alberoni, and was perfectly [illegible] with Ripperda. His long residence [illegible] enabled him to form a correct judgment of the Spaniards, and of the strange court he had to associate with.

Stanhope possessed no common sagacity and penetration, with unremitting vigilance to every thing that might be passing around him. He had spies in all parts of the court, in all the public offices; so that he got immediate information of the most minute particulars. The friars, who had access to the most considerable houses by their employment of saying masses for the dead, were all in his pay. But the circumstance in his character which secured him a decided advantage in his conversations with Ripperda, was his unalter-

* I call him, indifferently, Colonel Stanhope, or Lord Harrington.

able patience and phlegm. He was described by the Portuguese minister as the man who never interrupted those who spoke to him.

Ripperda was ill qualified to encounter so cool a negociator. The rapidity of his fortune had worked up his warm imagination to a degree of ferment little short of insanity. This was not diminished by the peculiar difficulties of his situation. The scheme he had formed to disengage himself, required the utmost command of temper and the most delicate management in the conduct of it. The expressions he had made use of at Vienna, on his arrival in Spain, and even after he was placed at the head of the ministry, were directly contrary to the principles on which it rested. They proclaimed determined hostility against France, and betrayed designs the most alarming to England.

He did not stop at these inconsiderate expressions. In one of his private conferences with the English ambassador, he disclosed the stipulations concluded at Vienna; which were intended to remain secret, particularly those directed against Gibraltar. Probably the levity of his character, and his wild habits of speaking, alone produced this disclosure. Some persons, however, were disposed to think he had a design in it, which was, by giving the most formidable and menacing appearance to the confederacy of the Emperor and Spain, to work on the fears of the English government, and tempt it to enter into amicable arrange-

ments with these powers; which disposition evinced he would make subservient to his views upon France.

If such was his design, it completely miscarried. England, connected with France and Prussia, and supported by the other states that seemed inclined to join their alliance, regarded without any violent dismay, the confederacy of the two courts.

If the disclosure of Ripperda had any effect on the fears of the English Government, it was the reverse of what he intended; — it contributed to tendency to cement the union established by the treaty of Hanover.

It was important the circumstances should be known to Europe, and particularly to the people of England, in order to infuse fresh vigour into their exertions, by shewing the alliance of the Emperor and Spain was directed to extort from them sacrifices the most repugnant to their honour and their interests, and ultimately to the overthrow of a government they justly deemed essential to their happiness.

The English ambassador therefore listened with his habitual calmness and composure to the flippant and loquacious Ripperda. He was aware that the Spanish minister, when he came to reflect upon what he had said, would, with all the violence and hurry of thought which distinguished him, not be entirely blind to his imprudence.

His adherence to his word was not to be relied on: he would without hesitation contradict what he had said a few hours before, and he always accompanied his assertions, though perhaps directly contrary to each other, with multiplied oaths and imprecations.

If he did this on general occasions, it was to be imagined he would not be restrained on this by any punctilious veracity, where he had such signal imprudence to retrieve, and where the importance of the object would excuse him in the eyes of the world.

Fully to ascertain and authenticate the discovery he had been betrayed into, and thereby render it subservient to the advantages that might be drawn from it, it was necessary a third person should witness it, whose testimony might be resorted to, in case Ripperda should find it convenient to deny it.

The English ambassador, with this view, testified no eagerness or pleasure when he heard it; but at the next conference, contrived the Dutch ambassador should be present, and artfully engaged Ripperda to repeat it.

Having obtained the sanction he wanted, he lost no time in transmitting the intelligence to his court. It was introduced into the King's speech at the meeting of Parliament, and of course found its way into the foreign gazettes.

Ripperda complained of the use which had been made of a private conversation; and if

public transactions could be supposed subject to the delicacies and proprieties which regulate private life, it must be confessed he would have complained with reason.

He would have gladly explained away what he had said; but his evasions were of no avail against the pertinacious Stanhope, who still insisted and appealed to the testimony of the [illegible] ambassador. Driven to extremity, he lost all command of temper, and impatiently exclaimed, "Well then, since you will have it so, I did speak as you mention, and every thing I said was perfectly true."

He sorely felt the engagement which his indiscreet conversations in favour of the Pretender and his cause had fastened upon him. Any steps to execute this engagement would, he knew, shut the door to all negociation with England, and, by consequence, run directly counter to his designs.

But he was not at liberty to shake it off. The King and Queen were transported with zeal for any measure which might extend the Catholic religion.

Irritated as they were against France, they had declared themselves willing to sacrifice their resentment, if France would join in a religious war in Germany.

The Pretender was at all times the object of their secret wishes and affections. Every acknowledgment of the reigning family in England, they looked upon as an act of dissimulation imposed

upon them by necessity. It nowise operated in restraining or confining their machinations to subvert their throne. They had concluded with the greatest joy and satisfaction the secret articles at Vienna, directed to this purpose. It was impossible for Ripperda to avoid acting in conformity with these articles without entirely forfeiting their good graces.

He was importuned too by the clamours of the clergy, who began to suggest doubts of the sincerity of his conversion, and call him Christiano nuevo.

To these circumstances must be added the crowd of Irish Catholics that beseiged the court, and intermitted none of the usual expedients of exiles, —busy intrigue, noisy solicitation, and confident promises.

Ripperda, soon after his elevation to the ministry, had received letters of compliment from the Pretender, putting him in mind of what he had promised the Duke of Wharton, and expressing the most sanguine persuasion he would, without loss of time, put these promises in execution.

The Duke himself did not fail to follow him from Vienna. He at first appeared at Madrid under a feigned name, calling himself Mr. Phillibert; but he did not long remain thus disguised. He assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland, conferred upon him by the Pretender; and was, in great ceremony, invested with the order of the Garter.

He renewed his conferences with the minister; and some feeble movements manifested the subject of these conferences.

A body of twelve thousand men was drawn to the coast of Biscay and Gallicia. Orders were sent to Cadiz to fit out privateers: and agents of the Pretender were allowed to purchase a quantity of arms, which they deposited there;—all of at the same time, were busy in engaging all the officers out of employment at Madrid in the service.

Colonel Stanhope could not overlook these indications. Ripperda, when applied to, protested with vehemence he knew nothing of Wharton having left Vienna, till he had actually arrived at Madrid. The King and Queen were as ignorant as himself; but on the least appearance of his acting for the Pretender, he would send him out of the capital in twenty-four hours. To account for the marching of the troops to the coast, he supposed, without the least foundation, a correspondence from the Spanish ambassador in London, transmitting intelligence of extensive preparations in England for a descent upon Spain, and an attempt to burn the vessels in the ports. With respect to the arms collected in Cadiz, he professed entire ignorance concerning them.

"Well then (answered Stanhope) I may suppose they are arms belonging to private persons unconnected with government."—Ripperda, after

what he had just uttered, could not venture to contradict him.

Stanhope had information where they had been left in pledge, for a certain sum which had been wanting, in the penury of the Pretender's exchequer. He paid the sum for which they were security, and what was demanded over and above; and had them sent off to England.

The English ambassador, putting on the appearance of believing what he knew to be false, drew from the dissimulation he deemed it expedient to practise, the means of serving his sovereign. But the entanglements and perplexities which ensued from the arrival of Count Kænigsegg, ambassador from the Emperor, were enough to have driven a calmer head than Ripperda's to madness and despair.

The Count arrived in the beginning of January, 1726. He took up his residence at first in a quinta or country-house near Madrid, belonging to Count Aguilar; where he was confined a short time by a fit of the gout. As soon as he was well, he proceeded to the palace of the Pardo, where the court then was.

The Queen, who was prepossessed with the notion that he came finally to settle the marriage of her son, thought no demonstration of joy or mark of distinction too much for a minister coming for such a purpose.

The day he first appeared at court, every one

was in the dress worn on great solemnities. He dined that day with the Duke of Ripperda. The Duke, who was but too sensible of what he had to expect from the ambassador, whose heart was burning with vexation, and who had to put on the appearance of satisfaction and joy, acted his part but indifferently. It was easy to remark the torture which his features underwent, the force which brought up smiles on his melancholy face.

The Count set out like a man to whom every thing was to yield; who was to be [illegible] and gratified by every sacrifice. The populace of Madrid was enraged to see, along with the Imperial arms, those of Spain set up over his door, by which it appeared the Emperor's minister carried the pretensions of his master to the very residence of the King, with whom he had contracted engagements of league and amity.

Another attempt must, if successful, have, it should seem, entirely obstructed the passage of the streets. He got six mules harnessed to his carriage;—a distinction peculiar to the royal family. Immediately all the foreign ministers imitated his example. Such a crowd of mules would, no doubt, have been insufferable. One of the secretaries of state was directed to inform the Count, with all politeness and deference, of the custom of the country, hoping he would have the goodness to conform himself to it.

This insolence of the Count was inspired by his

knowledge of the delusion under which the Queen laboured, and the tenacious infatuation with which she clung to it.

He was not sparing of the grossest falsehoods to preserve her in it. The Archduchess was on the point of setting out, and nothing but the apprehended resentment of her many disappointed suitors prevented her departure, and prolonged the mystery which still hung over it. He twisted the story with such a variety of imaginary circumstances, that he persuaded the Queen, much as she wished for the arrival of the Princess, to approve of the caution and foresight of the Emperor her father.

But he intended the error he so successfully maintained, should be a copious source of treasure; and as he was aware time, if nothing else, would dissipate it, he was earnest to make it as productive as possible while it lasted.

He pursued Ripperda like his evil genius.—The money he had promised at Vienna, he rigorously exacted, and would listen to no plea or evasion. Ripperda, assailed by the clamours of a people groaning under the weight of taxes, and conscious that all the money sent to the Emperor, was so much money thrown away, did all he could to elude the demands of the ambassador, or at least gain time, in hopes something would start up to deliver him from his embarrassment.

But as much as he was interested in gaining

time, the ambassador felt it was of importance to allow him none. The possibility of the circumstances to which he looked forward, goaded on the vehemence and impatience of the ambassador; the latter considered he had in his hands a pregnant, but fugitive opportunity,—and to screw it to the utmost, was his object.

In vain Ripperda entered into [illegible] tations of the misery of the [illegible] pressing exactions they were already subject to. The ambassador had no bowels of [illegible] undertook to become Ripperda's [illegible] financial operations, minutely explored the system of taxation, suggested such a branch was not pushed far enough; such branches might be added; and gravely claimed praise for the fertility of his fiscal invention. As little could he be induced to wait for the arrival of the flota and galleons, which were expected for the end of June.

The rashness and fanaticism of the Spanish councils might precipitate a war with England, and then the American treasures might be intercepted; besides, a thousand unforeseen events might arise to remove the blindness of the Queen before June. Relying on this blindness, he ventured to represent to her, that it was merely from his eagerness to gratify her, the Emperor had occasion for the money demanded, which indeed would never be adequate to the expenses which, from this motive, he must incur. He must fortify his do-

minions, augment his troops, and make a number of military arrangements; why? with a view to the combination that might take place between England and France, and among the Princes of Germany, when it was seen his eldest daughter married the Spanish Prince. For the same reason, it became necessary to give the most formidable weight to the confederacy of Vienna, and enable it to surmount that of Hanover. This was to be done only by money, which would determine the conduct of the Northern States.

If the most flagrant contempt of truth and unfeeling disregard for the sufferings of a nation, were a proof of diplomatic abilities, there never was an abler man in a diplomatic employment than Count Kænigsegg.

Ripperda, aware that he had the means of destroying him in his power, turned himself every way to satisfy him. He accumulated burthens upon burthens on the people; he exacted sums from all who had been concerned in the farming of the revenue, or had had employments in the Indies. He carried the severest scrutiny into all parts of the expenditure; he suppressed pensions and places; he discarded crowds of clerks from all the public offices; he put a stop to all payments whatsoever; finally, he had recourse to the expedient commonly practised by governments in the last degree of distress,—raising the denomination of the coin, that is, endeavouring to persuade

mankind to consider a less quantity of the precious metals of equal value with a greater.

All these methods to procure money for the Emperor, were felt with the bitterest resentment and indignation by the Spaniards. They had one slender consolation, which has at other times been afforded to suffering nations; the money thus wrung from them was not employed in schemes which promised at least some real or supposed advantage; some accession of territory, or some increase of national honour and reputation:—they were tortured for no other purpose, than to support a delusion as insulting to their government, as grievous to themselves.

The dead uniformity of a despotic government allowed little relief, but the scattered murmurs of individuals. There were no great constitutional channels open, through which the feelings of the people could ascend to the ear of the sovereign. Yet there was a tribunal which, from its rank at the head of the administration of justice, felt itself authorised to remonstrate against some of the measures of the minister; this was the Council of Castille. The raising the denomination of the coin was the subject of representations, which however produced no immediate effect.

No sooner had Ripperda been raised to power, than he meditated a variety of reforms. He indulged himself in unbounded censures upon all the ministers who had preceded him; rank abuses

prevailed in every part of the government; all were to be eradicated; every thing was to be set on a new foundation.

The representations of the Council of Castille added the motive of revenge to his desire of appearing in the character of a reformer. Suits lingered in this as well as other tribunals of justice in Spain, nor was, perhaps, the integrity of its decisions perfectly unimpeachable. Ripperda thought at once of punishing the Council, and gratifying the people, by the publication of two decrees, one calling upon every one who felt himself aggrieved in any matter of law or justice, by the proceedings of any tribunal, to lay his complaints immediately before the King, through the channel of his minister, with a promise of impartial and immediate redress. The other, for abridging suits, and protecting suitors from vexatious delays, directed, that an account of all suits depending before the tribunals should be drawn up for the inspection of the government, and that at the end of every month, a regular return should be made of those which were terminated, and of the progress which had taken place in such as remained to be determined.

This supposed grievance of the dilatory proceedings of courts of justice, has been at all times a favourite topic with reformers, and a constant temptation to empirical change.

Persons have not reflected, that it is impossible

to obtain accuracy of investigation, much less certainty of decision, without the interposition of many circumstances which necessarily produce delay. To exclude, as much as possible, the arbitrary in judges, and beget the inestimable advantage of a known rule, precedents are carefully preserved, which, by their accumulation, and the reasonings of analogy they give rise to, transform what was originally mere good sense and natural equity, into something deriving from the same principles, and tending much more regularly to the same ends,—a body of artificial laws. Then every detected fraud and experienced inconvenience leads to some new form, directed to guard against the one, and remedy the other; by which proceedings become complicated and slow.

Leave every thing to caprice, and take your chance for the obtaining of right, and delay is easily discarded.

A Turkish cadi shall decide a hundred causes, while a British judge is employed in the investigation of one.

Ripperda derived little advantage from his decrees. He neither soothed and conciliated the people, nor conferred any important benefit on the state.

The people were too sore from the weight of the burthens which crushed them, to be appeased by promises of redress in matters wherein multitudes were nowise concerned. They perceived his motive

in promulgating the decrees, and were only more attached to the council which had excited his resentment. He found complaints pour in so fast upon him, that, unable to attend to them all, he attended to few or none.

All that could be said of this scheme is, that it did no mischief, and not much good; that it awakened little public gratitude, and no resentment. But it was accompanied with one which was not so harmless to the projector. The people of Spain have no very decided inclination to commercial or manufacturing habits; they like to saunter in the public walks, and enjoy in indolence the warmth of their sky. Ripperda, from a vain ambition of compelling them to industry, caused a proclamation to be issued against the saunterers, and employed methods of violence to drive them from their usual places of resort. There is nothing which a people can bear less, than to be disturbed in their private amusements and indulgences. This last severity, added to the many grievances they already sustained, inflamed their hatred to the most violent degree. They could scarcely repress the impatience which tormented them to see the fall of the obnoxious minister.

So odious had he become, that he extorted no praise by the only one of his measures which seems to have been reasonably directed to the public good.

The alguazils, or inferior ministers of justice,

were without any fixed salary; and in reality received little or nothing from the government. The consequence was, as might be expected, they took bribes on all sides, and spared no means of corruption or oppression to support themselves.

A decree was published against this abuse, which, had it been executed, would have put an end to it.

It forbade the officers to take perquisites, or avail themselves of any indirect emoluments, and promised them a regular salary to be regularly paid in lieu of them.

Ripperda, distracted as he was, having every day to swallow new draughts of bitterness, hated by all classes of people in Spain, universally regarded either as a madman or impostor, or both, exerted himself however to put on an appearance of confidence, and conceal the misery of his situation.—"I have (said he) six friends on whose protection I implicitly rely, and who will rescue me from all the efforts of my enemies;—God, the blessed Virgin, the Emperor, the Empress, and their Catholic Majesties."

He received several letters of compliment and congratulation from the Emperor, in that Prince's own hand-writing; one so late as the 9th of March, 1726, and soon after the Imperial ambassador began to think of displacing him.

There can be little doubt, if he did not get the money he was perpetually demanding, it could

not be imputed to the unfortunate Ripperda; though this last, in his loose idle manner of talking, unchecked by any regard for truth, told Colonel Stanhope, in the midst of all his embarrassments, that he was in no want of money, and that he gave out his being so, purely to oblige thereby the Emperor not to think upon entering on a war.

Certain it is, Kœnigsegg, not receiving the supplies he looked for, determined on his ruin.

There was a conspiracy against him in another quarter.

A certain pious personage existed about the court, of the name of Don Domingo Valentin Guerra. To say the truth, Don Domingo was a prodigy of stupidity. The Queen having occasion for a confessor, Père D'Aubenton looked round for a man, whose very limited understanding seemed inaccessible to the temptations of ambition, and to shut him out from all the ways of intrigue and courtly solicitation. D'Aubenton did not calculate with his usual sagacity. Extreme dullness is not a corrective for presumption. Don Domingo, fool as he was, had a good deal of cunning, and that sort of creeping desire of advancing himself, which is often the companion of consummate folly. He trembled however before the character of D'Aubenton, and, as long as the imperious Jesuit lived, did not venture to sneak out of his obscurity. But death having delivered

him from this check, he too began to be ambitious. He had been lately created Archbishop of Armida *in partibus*, that is, was invested with the episcopal character, without jurisdiction or trouble annexed to it. If Domingo had trembled before Père D'Aubenton, he trembled much more before his penitent the Queen. The bare thought of incurring her displeasure, produced the most whimsical agitation in his whole frame. An itching seized his legs, and he could not remain quiet in any place; so that his legs became a barometer to the courtiers, which they looked to for foul or fair weather at court.

As long as Ripperda appeared favoured by the Queen, Domingo would as soon have thought of turning Mahometan, as of giving him the least opposition, or joining in any intrigue against him. He had been the loudest in celebrating him as a miracle of statesmen. Not that the minister took any pains to conciliate him. He treated him on all occasions with the most marked contempt. But a soul like Domingo's was formed to be despised. Whatever resentment he might feel, he stifled and carefully hid as long as Ripperda flourished in the sunshine of the royal favour.

Ripperda had early given an admonition to Father Bermudez, the King's confessor:—"Take care, Father, (said he) that you do any thing but give your penitent absolution." This admonition, which was intended for both the confessors, would

at any other time have frightened Domingo out of his slender wits; but the dimmest sight could discover the cloud that was fast approaching to overwhelm the minister. The dissatisfaction of the Imperial ambassador was no longer a secret; and it could not be doubted, that any thing he suggested to the Queen, would be readily executed by her;—so that Domingo was not afraid of shewing his enmity.

Among the courtiers who were particularly animated by animosity against the minister, were the Marquis de Castelart and his brother Don Joseph Patino. The former had lost a considerable employment, which the minister had taken possession of. Ripperda, aware of their dispositions, was anxious to send them to a distance. He had ordered the Marquis to go as ambassador to Venice, and had given Don Joseph a commission to Brussels. They deferred their departure under various pretexts; but as he continued to press them, and as their pretexts were really at an end, they felt the necessity of immediately labouring to deprive him of power.

They had discovered that Don Domingo was his enemy. To him they applied. He, persuaded that he might now vilify the minister to the Queen without danger, listened to their representations. In the penury of his own ideas, he was glad to borrow some topics of discourse from them; and

they willingly resigned to him whatever use he could make of their rhetoric, as long as he was instrumental in promoting their purposes. The first thing they obtained was a counter-order authorising them to remain at Madrid; which had become very necessary, as Ripperda had manifested the greatest impatience at their stay; telling them at one of his levees, that after the time they had employed in preparations, they would certainly be able to set out in two or three days at most.

But the blow which struck him down, came from the ambassador. The first mark he received of displeasure was one day when, entering the apartment where the King and Queen were reading a letter from the ambassador, pressing remittances, he ventured to represent to them the deplorable condition to which Spain was reduced.—"What is that to you?" exclaimed the Queen, with an angry frown.

On the 12th of May, the department of the finances was taken from him. Colonel Stanhope, who saw him that night, found him "in the highest rage against the court of Vienna, and disposed to stick at nothing to be revenged."*

Irritated at a privation which would be construed as a forerunner of his fall,—intoxicated with confidence in his own abilities, and the high reputa-

* This was precisely the measure of resentment he afterwards conceived against Spain.

tion he conceived himself to have established,—and hoping, probably, that by threatening to withdraw himself entirely, he would regain the ascendancy he had lost, he petitioned to be dismissed from all his employments. This request was not immediately granted: but at eleven o'clock at night of the 14th, a quarter of an hour after he had left the apartment where he had been transacting business with the King and Queen, he received a letter from the Marquis de la Paz; informing him that his functions as minister had ceased; that, however, he was to receive a pension of three thousand pistoles in consideration of his services.

The news of his disgrace did not get abroad in Madrid till the next morning; when all classes testified the highest pleasure, and the populace abandoned themselves to riotous joy and triumph. They insulted some of his servants; and menaces reached his ear, that in the night they would attack his house in order to tear him in pieces. A panic immediately seized him, and he anxiously looked round for a place of refuge. He sent to the Dutch ambassador, desiring to see him; and requested he would allow him to take shelter in his house.

The ambassador excused himself, alleging several reasons; but pointed out the house of the English ambassador. It was agreed he should come in his carriage, as soon as it was dark and

take him there.* The English ambassador had gone the day before to Aranjuez, with an intention of remaining there a couple of days for the sake of his health. He had been at the palace in the morning, to take leave of Ripperda; and, from the air of his countenance, and his absence of mind in the conversation he had with him, he was led to conjecture something was impending over him. This day he received an express, informing

* The Spanish author has framed a very refined scheme of policy, which he attributes to the ambassadors.—"They calculated," he says, "that Ripperda, no longer shackled by his employments at court, and the embarrassments of political business, would bestow his undivided attention on the promotion of the manufactures he had established; from which considerable detriment would ensue to the commerce of their respective countries. They therefore laid a plan to ruin him irretrievably in the opinion of the King, and oblige him ultimately to leave the kingdom. The absence of the English ambassador was preconcerted. The Dutch ambassador went on purpose to him, and taking advantage of his fears, artfully brought him to the resolution he adopted; which answered all their purposes." The whole of this elaborate supposition is overturned by the narrative of l'Abbé Montgon and Colonel Stanhope's correspondence with his own government. His conduct, as described, would have been perfectly allowable, if not praise-worthy, in a person in his situation. He could have no motive to conceal it from his court,—nay, to advance directly the contrary of the fact.

Foreigners are very apt to speculate in this manner on the conduct of Englishmen. They fancy us much more cunning than we really are.

him of his dismissal; on which he resolved to return immediately to Madrid; and arriving there about eleven at night, was extremely surprised to find in his apartment the Duke of Ripperda and the ambassador of Holland.*

On the Duke's claiming his protection, before he would give any answer, he desired to be satisfied on two points:—whether he was still in the service of the King of Spain? whether he was to be regarded as the object of any accusation, or under the King's displeasure?

The Duke produced the letter of the Marquis de la Paz, at once announcing the loss of his employments, and specifying the pension intended for him.

At the time this letter was written, it was not the intention of the court to proceed with severity; but the Emperor's ambassador inflamed the resentment against him. He heard, with emotions of rage, that he had attempted to escape from his power. He insisted that he should be taken by force out of his place of refuge. He afterwards repented of this step, as such an act of violence might draw on an immediate rupture with England, which might disappoint him of the treasures he expected:—but the resolution was formed. The Council of Castille was consulted, for form's sake; and on the

* I have related the transaction in Colonel Stanhope's own words in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle.

morning of the 25th, at six o'clock, a party of sixty horse, headed by an alcal de corte (or judge) and a general officer, appeared before the house of the English ambassador. The ambassador protested; but no attention was paid to his protest. The Duke was not out of bed. He was allowed only time to put on his night-gown; and he was no sooner down stairs than a coach, which was ready for the purpose, received him and the officers, and rolled off, under the escort, along the banks of the Mançanarez.* It took the road of Segovia; and arriving there, the Duke was delivered in custody to the Alcayde, or governor of the castle. His papers had been seized; and only a single servant allowed to follow him.

The castle, or algazar, of Segovia, is an edifice of extreme antiquity. It was the palace of the Gothic kings of Spain, and the favourite residence of Ferdinand and Isabella: but since their time it had been converted into a state prison, where likewise were confined a number of Barbary corsairs who had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. It stands upon a craggy rock, washed by the waters of the river Erema.† In one of the towers of this castle was Ripperda lodged. The

* Gil Blas performed the same journey before him.

† There is a view of this castle in the plates annexed to Bourgoing's Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne; which would not lead the observer to suppose an escape from it so easy as Ripperda found it.

confinement of this prison, at no time very strict,* was not rendered particularly so to him.

The Alcayde was a man who had seen the world; he had served in different countries, and his experience had furnished him with much amusing conversation. He was very attentive, and even obsequious, to his prisoner; as in the whimsical revolutions which the court was constantly exhibiting, he did not know but he might be again his master. He was married to an agreeable woman; and many persons from Segovia visited at the castle. Two regidores, or magistrates of the town, were often there; men distinguished by their education and the employment which they filled.

A man of a different temper of mind and habits of life from Ripperda, would have been tolerably amused in this little circle; but it had no charms for him. His fall from power, and the unequivocal signs of popular detestation he beheld on every side, overcame all his fortitude, and shewed him a spectacle of womanish emotion and pusillanimity. While at the house of Colonel Stanhope, his lips overran with every thing he knew, and many things he did not know. He betrayed all the secrets of the treaty of Vienna, "the whole time in the greatest agonies, and frequently bursting into tears."† This feverish sensibility

* Read the imprisonment of Gil Blas.

† The words of Benjamin Keene.

was succeeded by violent transports. Seeing himself immured in a prison, he would imprecate curses on the Spanish nation, and vent himself in incoherent menaces of vengeance. To spread blood and desolation throughout the kingdom, was rapture to his thoughts. What spectacle so gratifying to him as Madrid in flames! To fasten a foreign yoke on the necks of an ungrateful people, would be to him more pleasure than he had tasted during his past life.

Then all his political speculations and theories crowded on his heated brain. He new-moddelled the state of Europe, taking away from *this* prince and giving to *another*. Religion had its turn: *now* he was a zealous Catholic, and argued with vehemence against the Protestants; *then* changing sides, he abused the Church of Rome. Such is solitude to hurried undisciplined minds!

His solitude was not without considerable alleviation, as has been mentioned. The King allowed him a hundred dubloons a month for his table; an indulgent governor was assiduous in providing him with every comfort in his power: but he was quiet;* and that was intoleráble to him. He caught with avidity at all the news he could gather from the political world. He heard with the liveliest sensations of pleasure, that a British squadron was off the coast of Spain. He

* Yet the Spanish author would persuade us, that it was in order to seek this quiet he went afterwards to Barbary.

was not without hopes, that the court of London would demand his enlargement, as a circumstance of reparation for the violence offered the house of the ambassador: but his hopes grew fainter every day, and at length vanished.

The treaties of Vienna and Hanover had indeed converted Europe into a scene of negociation and cabal, interrupted occasionally by warlike movements. The Spanish court had hoped that the alliance between England and France, which was the foundation of the latter, would give way to other sentiments. The Duke of Bourbon, by whose partiality it was supposed to be supported, was removed from the ministry; and Fleury succeeded him.

To him the pious looked for the breaking off of all engagements with heretics; but he had been won by the discernment and address of Horace Walpole, English ambassador at Paris.

During the nominal ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, Walpole was not blind to the source from which power emanated. He saw the meek and humble Fleury artfully establishing an absolute ascendant over the mind of his pupil the young King; and he had no doubt that it was he who would determine the conduct of the French government. To him therefore he sedulously paid court. Whatever he observed displeasing to him, he shunned even with affectation. The mistresses and creatures of the Duke could obtain from him no

mark of homage. On one occasion, Fleury having, in a fit of political sullenness, withdrawn from court, Walpole went after him, and took this opportunty of shewing him extraordinary attention.

Fleury become prime minister, remembered this attention of Walpole; and when reproached with yielding too much to his influence, would answer with a smile, "Do you know what Horace Walpole did for me?" and then related the circumstances that passed.

He was attached to him with more than the usual warmth of politicians; and the union with England, instead of losing ground, became stronger and closer.

The court of Spain were exasperated at their disappointment. The Queen called Fleury a coward, and said he was the slave of that heretic, Horace Walpole. All her representations were ineffectual, though conveyed through the channel of the Pope's nuncio, and her partisans at the French court bestirred themselves to no purpose. Not even the orthodox cause of the Pretender could move a Cardinal. The Cardinal thwarted, instead of encouraging, his designs.

It might be supposed all the devout part of the French court would be against him: but here he displayed consummate art. Something so cajoling, —such an air of meekness and benignity softened his manners and deportment. He seemed so humble

and disinterested; in every step he made to the height of power, he advanced with such reluctance, —he yielded to the importunities of his friends,— he submitted to the burthen of government solely for the public good, no idea of self-gratification entered his mind. A simplicity so truly evangelic coloured these appearances; he had what, in the language of mysticism, is called such an unction, that all the pious were edified and delighted. The whispers of devotion, the murmurs of zeal, conspired for the good Cardinal. The tribe of female zealots befriended him with their usual warmth; during the whole of his sly and oblique progress, they cheered him in his difficulties, sympathized in his mortifications, and exulted in his triumph.

But if France and England remained stedfast to the treaty of Hanover, the other contracting party, Prussia, was not thought equally so. None of the German princes were disposed to draw down upon themselves the resentment of the Emperor.

The states of Italy observed the cautious policy of the feeble. They were jealous and apprehensive of the court of Vienna, but were in no haste to declare themselves. Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, maintained his character of a most refined and wavering politican.

The procrastinating forms of the Dutch government still impeded and embarrassed its ultimate decision: but the Dutch were too much interested

against the company of Ostend, favoured and encouraged by the treaty of Vienna, to create a doubt as to the part they would settle upon.

The determination of the powers of the North appeared a matter of great moment to both sides.

The Czar Peter was dead. His widow and successor Catharine was led by family considerations to espouse the cause of the allies of Vienna. Her daughter was married to the Duke of Holstein, nephew to Charles XII. of Sweden, by his eldest sister. In the misfortunes of that prince, the reigning Duke's father had been despoiled of the Duchy of Sleswick, and the Duchy annexed to Denmark under the guarantee of England. Denmark, which looked to the assistance of England for retaining this possession, corresponded to her views, and cultivated her alliance. The King of Sweden, who, on the death of Charles, had been preferred to the crown, though the son of that monarch's youngest sister, was uneasy at the claims of the Duke of Holstein, in whom vested the rights of hereditary succession: but the same transaction which made him king, disabled him from consulting only his inclinations.

The people of Sweden suffered so grievously from the despotism of their hero Charles, that at his death they took measures to prevent the return of the like evils. They began by setting aside the the Duke of Holstein, and, declaring the crown elective, placed it on the head of the reigning

King. At the same time they established a senate, to be a perpetual check on his authority; and both were to be controlled by a national diet. All acts of the government depended on these assemblies; and they were immediately assailed by the arts of foreign intrigue, and the temptations of foreign corruption. It fared with the new constitution of Sweden, as it must do with every constitution to which the characters and habits of the people are not made by time and circumstances. The grave name and important powers of Senators were bestowed upon men who were nowise qualified to support the *one* by a virtuous use of the *other*.—Already the liberality of England had disposed them to accede to her measures; when a squadron, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, appeared in the Baltic. Three squadrons sailed out at the same time from the English ports;—one, under Sir John Jennings, carried terror along the whole extent of the Spanish coasts; another, commanded by Admiral Hosier, was dispatched to the West Indies; and the third, under Sir Charles, came in aid of the negociations that were going on in the North. In this extraordinary exertion were displayed the promptitude and resources of a free and wealthy nation. The Czarina had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, and had set on foot preparations for a formidable naval expedition. She was deeply engaged in the projects of the

Pretender. A Sir Henry Stirling, agent to the Pretender, resided in her capital, and was busy in purchasing arms and forwarding arrangements for the invasion of Scotland. Her ships had been employed in transporting arms, with a view to this invasion. The Pretender himself was to have embarked at Archangel, to avoid the inconveniencies of passing the Sound. All these movements were in concert with Spain and the Emperor. Spain supplied large sums, and advanced a body of troops to the coast of Gallicia. The Emperor at the same time was to have troops in readiness at Ostend.

On the summons of Sir Charles Wager, Russia was compelled to give up her naval preparations; and the whole of this extensive scheme in favour of the Pretender fell to the ground. The King of Denmark had declared himself. The Danish fleet joined the British admiral. The King of Sweden too was encouraged to manifest his favourable dispositions; and the effect of money on the new and ill-compacted forms of the Swedish government was powerfully accelerated. Sir Charles completely fulfilled his mission.

The hopes of Ripperda, which these events inevitably sunk, and had a tendency to destroy, were however a little revived and reanimated by what happened in the year 1727.

The King of England met his Parliament in January of this year. In his speech from the

throne he affirmed the existence of a secret treaty between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and specified the leading articles,—the recovery of Gibraltar, and the re-establishment of the Pretender.

Monsieur Palm, Imperial resident in London, had the assurance to publish a memorial, in which he flatly contradicted the King's declarations.—This piece of insolence roused all the generous and loyal feelings of a British Parliament.

Sir Robert Walpole moved an address, "expressing the high resentment at the affront and indignity offered to his most sacred Majesty by the memorial of Monsieur Palm, and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom, declaring their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his Majesty."

This address was warmly supported by all the members who commonly voted in opposition to the court; Sir William Windham, Mr. Pultney, Mr. Shippen; and carried unanimously. How different a British Parliament from the assemblies which in other countries have been termed popular! Whatever contests have arisen in its bosom, they have always been carried on with the spirit and feelings of Britons! Its doors have been ever shut to foreign influence and corruption. Such has been the result of that curious and happy composition which presumptuous empiricism has

loudly railed at, but on which experience has impressed its seal.

Monsieur Palm was ordered forthwith to quit the kingdom.

While this was passing in London, the Spaniards had opened the trenches before Gibraltar. The designs of the two courts, which had been long ripening in the silence and gloom of the cabinet, seemed approaching to a complete development. But neither was much in earnest.

The Emperor, aware that the English would intercept the galleons, and that the source of supplies would thereby be stopped, thought it time to put an end to the comedy with which he had amused the simplicity of Madrid; and concluded a separate accommodation.

The court of Madrid, opening at length its eyes to the ridiculous figure it had made in Europe, was not so inconsiderate as to persevere in hostilites without any hope of support. Preliminary articles were signed, and a congress appointed to meet at Soissons to adjust all unsettled points of difference.

George I. from whom Ripperda expected zeal and vigour in these differences, died in June, while on a visit to his German dominions.

Having now no hopes of deliverance from abroad, he looked round him for the means of escape, on which he was obstinately bent. He was not so closely watched, as not to have opportunities of

discourse with the soldiers who were placed to guard him. One of them, talking to him as he came in with his dinner, had offered to assist him in his flight: but, as at that time he looked to the movements in Europe for the recovery of his liberty, he had not thought proper to close with the offer.

The marvellous, which characterised the whole of his life, attended him in his confinement. At a subsequent period, but before his hopes were quite extinguished, a youth of a lively fancy and bold stirring disposition,* of the name of Geronimo Enriquez, who was serving as page at Madrid, left his employment, and entered the service of the alcayde of the castle, with a view of being instrumental in his deliverance. He let pass this opportunity likewise; and he could scarcely expect that fortune would send him another, when the most singular of any presented itself.

This part of his history is differently related.—Perhaps the account which follows, resting on so romantic a groundwork, may have been dressed out for the sake of romantic effect.

Among the persons who visited the alcayde's wife, was a young lady of a good family,† native of Tordesillas, but residing in Segovia. Her name was Dona Josepha Fausta Martina Ramos.

* Mozo de gran resolution y de mayor traversura.

† Ripperda's words in his letter to his Dutch correspondent, Mr. Troyes.

She was of an agreeable person and ardent voluptuous complexion. She had given much of her time to reading, and had not a little inflamed her imagination, sufficiently apt to kindle, by the perusal of romances, and those parts of ancient history which, from an air of undefined grandeur shed over the events recorded and the personages that make a figure in them, have nearly the effect of romances upon us. In her visits she became acquainted with Ripperda; and, though he was past the bloom and vigour of manhood,* she saw something about him, connected with the events of his life, which riveted her fancy. In the laxness of confinement which prevailed at the castle, she had no difficulty in obtaining secret interviews with him, and was soon wholly abandoned to his wishes. He intimated how glad he would be to escape from his prison.—"Why indeed, (said she) a departure from this place is equally desirable for me, as I am four months advanced in pregnancy." They began to consult upon the means of accomplishing their project; and it was resolved to concert the matter with his servant.

This servant was a Frenchman, a pleasant alert fellow, who had followed him from Holland. He had often been employed in his amours, and never scrupled at any thing to serve his master.

* He was so certainly, according to the account of l'Abbé Montgon. Montgon could not be mistaken as to his appearance at least.

By his means the corporal who had the inspection of Ripperda's apartment and the adjoining parts of the castle, was gained over; and thus a principal difficulty surmounted. The time fixed was a moon-light night in September, the eve of a bull-feast, which would draw multitudes of people to the town, and give them an opportunity of proceeding unsuspected. Very seasonably for their purpose, the alcayde and his wife were both confined to their chamber by illness. But on account of the infirmities of Ripperda, and the gout with which he was grievously afflicted, it was impossible for him to travel in any other manner than in a chaise, and that with no great expedition. If a pursuit should be immediately commenced against him, he must inevitably fall into the hands of his pursuers. With some difficulty, by promises and by earnest assurances that he would incur no serious danger, he persuaded his servant to remain behind him, and instructed him how to act. He was to pretend his master could not leave his bed, and receive his victuals as if for him, which he was to eat himself. If any one asked to see his master, he was to say that he was fast asleep. By this contrivance Ripperda promised himself several days would elapse before his flight was discovered.

Horses were engaged, which were to wait for him in a concealed place, at a short distance from the castle. He was to ride to a village called

Carboneros, four leagues from Segovia, where there was an obscure inn, and remain there till he was joined by Dona Josepha and the corporal.

Dona Josepha was so full of the strange passion she had conceived for him, that she would be with him on the night of his escape to lend him her assistance. That done, she and the corporal were to hire a carriage in which they were to drive to Carboneros, and to take up Ripperda. The corporal had obtained a furlough to go and see his family.

Every thing being settled, Dona Josepha got into the castle disguised in boy's clothes, and by favour of the corporal found means to introduce herself into a little flower-garden, which was under the windows of Ripperda's apartment, and divided from the road only by a high wall. There she lay hid till the hour appointed, which was ten at night.

The servant had procured a ladder of ropes. As soon as it struck ten, Ripperda cautiously descended into the garden. The gardener's ladder, applied to the wall, enabled him to get to the top, and the ladder of ropes conveyed him to the other side, his fair companion all the time supporting his infirm steps.

He mounted the horse that was waiting for him, and, accompanied by a guide that had been engaged and had the care of the horses, rode off for Carboneros. They had not gone far when they

fell in with the patrole, that went its nightly rounds near the castle. "Who goes there?" was cried out to them; "We are strangers who, to avoid the heat of the sun, travel by night; can you direct us the shortest way to Carboneros?" The patrole gave them every direction, and wishing them a good night, proceeded in its round.

The day was just dawning when Ripperda and the guide arrived at Carboneros. He remained there two whole days, choosing rather to run the risk of being taken, than disappoint the woman who had sacrificed so much for him.

She took leave of her friends at Segovia, saying she was going on a visit to Valladolid, and privately meeting the corporal, she along with him hired a chaise to carry them to Valladolid; but when they got to Carboneros, where they took up Ripperda, they told the driver, that this unexpected meeting had changed the plan of their journey, and that he must proceed to the frontier of Portugal.

The fellow was not very willing to obey; but rather than forfeit his hire, he prepared himself to do so: but, when the travellers ordered him to strike off the high road and avoid the great towns, he looked upon them as very suspicious persons, and would have nothing more to do with them. Upon which the corporal produced a pistol, and threatened to shoot him on the spot, if he did not perform what he was desired.

As soon as Ripperda saw Dona Josepha at Carboneros, he loaded her with caresses, and called her his sister. It was agreed they should preserve this character during the journey. They two got into the chaise, and the corporal rode behind on a horse he had hired for the purpose. They proceeded along rugged unfrequented roads, which were often near shivering the chaise in pieces, stopping only at cottages and obscure villages.

They were first informed they were in Portugal by the change of language. The first town in this kingdom they stopped at, was Miranda de Duero.

Here the driver, exasperated at the trick which had been practised upon him, and the menace which had overcome his reluctance, went to the alcayde or chief magistrate of the place, and lodged his complaint. The corporal was summoned to appear before him; but getting his cue from Ripperda, no sooner was he in the presence of the magistrate, than going up to him and addressing him in a mysterious whisper; "Take care (said he) what you are about. My master is here upon an important and secret affair of state, which is the reason he left Spain with so much privacy. He is no less a man than Don Antonio de Mendoza, nephew to Don Diego de Mendoza Corte Real, secretary of state to his Portuguese Majesty."

Ripperda had read in the papers, that such a

person was shortly expected that way, and readily assumed his name.

The magistrate, astonished at what the corporal had told him, knew not how to make sufficient reparation for his mistake. He was on the point of sending the driver to jail: "Never mind that fellow, (said the corporal), but go immediately and see and get horses, and a convenient vehicle for his excellency. Be sure you do not say a word to any one of a stranger's passing this way."

The horses and chaise were soon at the door, and Ripperda continued his journey to Oporto under the name of Don Antonio, receiving every where the most prompt obedience and obsequious attention. At Oporto he embarked for England, accompanied by his paramour and the corporal. The vessel was forced by contrary winds into Cork, but, in the beginning of October, he landed at Comb-Martin, in Devonshire, and passed a few days at Exeter.

Nine days passed at the castle of Segovia without any suspicions of Ripperda's being missing, the servant obeying the directions he had received on parting with his master; but at the end of that time, no sign appearing of Ripperda, the governor was induced to examine his apartment. Finding him gone, he had nothing left but to interrogate the servant, who answered shortly that he did not know where his master was; that he had been there, not to guard him, but to serve him.

The governor hastened to notify the circumstances to the court. It being ascertained that it was more than a week since he had escaped, there was no hope of overtaking him. A letter was written to the foreign ministers, desiring he might be delivered up in case he took refuge in any of their master's dominions. The servant experienced sufficient lenity; he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment: but it was not long before he obtained his liberty. He immediately set off, and joined his master in England.

As soon as Ripperda's flight was publicly known, various were the conjectures as to the road he had taken, and his ultimate destination. Some affirmed he had directed himself to a port in Biscay, and would take shipping for Brabant, where his eldest son, whom he had left at Vienna, then was; others sent him to Gibraltar. These various and ill-founded conjectures are to be seen in the newspapers of the time.

When Ripperda left Exeter for London, he was met, on the western road, by the under-secretary of state, whom ministers had sent for that purpose; and a coach and four conveyed him to Eton, where he was privately lodged in an apartment belonging to Dr. Bland, head-master of Eton school.

Lord Townshend waited upon him, and applied himself to draw from him, by extraordinary marks of attention, the fullest and most accurate

information respecting the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna. At first he kept himself pretty much in retirement in London; but afterwards he took a handsome house in Soho Square, hired a villa with extensive gardens in the neighbourhood of town, and displayed his wealth in an expensive manner of living.

His wealth was considerable. He had large sums in the principal banks in Europe. He expected not to be idle in England, and to gratify his resentment against Spain. Peace was not established between the two countries. On the death of George I. the adherents of the Pretender laboured to spread an opinion that his successor would not ascend the throne without a considerable opposition. The King of Spain caught at this suggestion, and interposed delays in the accommodation with England. He relied on the intrigues carried on in his favour at the French court, and was in hopes of getting possession of Gibraltar while the negociation continued lingering. He again opened his ears to the court of Vienna, which thought itself interested to prevent a final arrangement. The result was, that the English and Spaniards persevered in hostilities against each other, and a small circumstance might carry the rupture to a confirmed warfare. While things remained in this state, Ripperda was listened to by ministers; letters passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole. He was busy in

proposing plans and projects of attack upon Spain, though these met with a cold reception. He had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the English language, and began to indulge hopes of a considerable place in the ministry.

The forms of the English government afford liberal encouragement to talents and industry; but there is a circumstance in its constitution which shuts those by-paths of intrigue, and mere courtly accomplishments, which conduct men to greatness in other countries. The two houses of parliament may be said to be the sole avenues to power. Up one of these avenues the political candidate must advance, and here no empirical pretensions will abide the test. He must dispute every inch of ground with pertinacious rivals; he will be rigorously scrutinized and searched; he will be attacked;—he must defend himself. To be finally victorious, he must attack in his turn; he will be answered. Not that a lively imagination and showy eloquence will carry away every honour. The variety of popular discussion affords room for every kind of talents. Slower but useful parts, substantial learning, mature prudence, will meet with their reward. Perhaps there are as many instances of the success of these unostentatious qualities as of the more brilliant and noisy triumphs.

The treaty of Seville, concluded in the latter end of 1729, crushed at once his vain speculations, and robbed him of his transient importance. All dif-

ferences being terminated with Spain, no information he could give was any longer of use, and he carried with him the bitterness of a visionary and neglected projector.

He amused himself by walking occasionally upon the Exchange and mixing in the groups of merchants. He speculated in the funds with success. He had recourse to gardening and country improvements; but private life had no objects on which his mind could fasten. The tame tranquillity of England was not at all suitable to him. He was resolved to embark for the Continent, where some scheme might offer itself, in the complex multiplicity of its governments and principalities, and the restless fluctuation of its politics, which might fall in with his pantings for a situation of ambitious activity.*

He had come to this determination, when the authors of the Craftsman thought proper to insert a violent paragraph against him, in which he was called an "abandoned prostitute."

He conceived himself pointed to the public contempt and indignation; and collecting the property he had in England, he no longer delayed his departure, but set sail for Holland in the year

* The Spanish author, in his account of Ripperda's residence in England, displays a consummate ignorance of the government and manners of the country. With respect to the character and conduct of the subject of his history, he seems never to have caught the clue of them.

1731, after having discharged the vehemence of his passions in curses both against Spain and England. He embarked on board a vessel he had bought for that purpose; and he had some extraordinary design in his thoughts, as he directed the vessel to be in readiness to sail to any part of the world he might order.

His Segovian mistress had borne him a son soon after her arrival in England, who was baptized in the Sardinian chapel by the name of John de Ripperda.

He arrived at the Hague in November, 1731. No sooner was he here, than he cast around an anxious look for some country where he might find employment adequate to his hopes. He first directed his eyes to the North of Europe; and Muscovy presented a spectacle which strongly provoked his wishes and ambition.

A woman was upon the throne of that mighty Empire. An uncontrolled and unshackled despotism prevailed, which might exalt the meanest and overthrow the highest; but lately introduced in the number of civilized governments, it had not shaken off the features of Barbaric inconstancy and caprice. None of those forms, those usages, those plausibilities, had yet arisen from general knowledge and refinement which wind imperceptibly round a government, poise its movements, give a system to what is by its nature irregular, and prescribe an uniform march to arbitary power.

Here adventurers had risen with singular rapidity, and been crowned with the most brilliant success. Ripperda framed an epistle for the Empress, in hopes of obtaining not only permission to go to her dominions, but something like an invitation. This he sent to the grand chancellor of the Empire, Count Osterman, to be delivered to the Empress. Count Osterman answered him in a cold and general manner, that the dominions of the Empress were open to every one who did not come with any circumstances of suspicion, and of course to him.

This indeed was a permission, but was by no means what he looked for. It confounded him in the crowd. It promised him no distinction. It encouraged no ambitious hope. He might live there, and that was all. So he might have lived in England; and so he might almost any where else.* He was sinking into despondency at the

* The Spanish author repeatedly affirms, that he was pursued in every country where he took refuge, by the applications of the Spanish ambassadors that he should be expelled, and even delivered up. It is very uncertain whether the court of Madrid had any anxiety upon the subject. The little care and vigilance with which he was latterly guarded at Segovia, made it generally believed that it was with its connivance he escaped. But however that might be, whoever knows the government of England, knows that no applications could infringe upon his security there. It was not the permission of the King which protected him, but the laws and constitution of the country.

prospect of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity and tranquillity, when he formed an acquaintance with a man who pointed his views to another quarter of the world.

In the course of the piratical and predatory hostilities perpetually carried on by the Emperor of Morocco, a number of Dutch captives fell into his hands. He expected large sums for the ransom of these captives. With a view of converting them into as large a branch of revenue as possible, he sent one Perez to the Hague, whose mission was to conclude a truce or peace; one of the conditions of which was a liberal ransom for the captives in his dominions.

This Perez was a descendant of a Spanish renegado. He called himself Admiral Perez, in Europe. He was in reality a Rice, or Captain of a ship.

He was advanced in years, and had sufficiently experienced the vicissitudes of fortune; he had been captive three years in Portugal; he had been ambassador or envoy in England; he spoke very good Spanish, and English intelligibly.

He formed an acqaintance with some of Ripperda's household; and learning from them the search which employed his thoughts, he thought, if he could tempt him into his master's dominions, it would flatter the pride of the Emperor, and confer a lustre on his government, to have a discarded prime minister of Spain in his service.

He accordingly waited upon him, and shewed him the northern shores of Africa inhabited by a warlike people, enemies to Europe, and particularly to Spain, who only wanted a statesman and a leader to execute some great enterprise.—"Where can the talents and the bold spirit you possess, exert themselves in a manner more soothing to your feelings and agreeable to your wishes, or with a brighter prospect of making your name resound through the whole world? The Moors, the Algerines, the Tunisians, the Tripolitans;—join them in alliance; direct their forces into one combined plan of operation, and let ungrateful Spain tremble!"

These exhortations, and the views they opened, sunk into the mind of Ripperda. His Castilian paramour was inflamed at the glory which they promised. The spectacle of Barbaric manners and Barbaric achievements was powerfully calculated to work upon her imagination. She was impatient to be transported to those regions where the character of man kindled at the rays of the sun, and of which she had read so much in Spanish romances.

A particular circumstance at this time made her favour the scheme with extraordinary warmth. She had received intelligence that the Duchess of Ripperda intended coming in pursuit of her husband.

Pressed, therefore, by his own ambition and her

encouragements, despairing of any suitable employment in any part of Europe, indulging too the spirit and disposition of an exile, by the vengeance he should inflict to make Spain repent of having discarded him, he closed with the offers of the Moorish ambassador, who stipulated that he should be received with every honour by the Emperor Muley Abdallah; and assured him he could soon be called to the highest dignities of the Empire, and be entrusted with the guidance of all its forces.

Nothing but the most desperate ambition could tempt any man to put himself in the power of Muley Abdallah. He was son of Muley Ishmael, who died in 1727. The inimitable pen of Addison has bestowed celebrity on Ishmael.*

An European can scarcely credit the cruelties these two princes were in the daily habits of committing. They frequently inflicted death with their own hands. No one approached them, from the highest to the lowest, without imminent danger of falling a victim to their barbarity or wantonness. They would discharge loaded guns at their courtiers, or plant a spear in their bosoms, without any motive but mere amusement.

The refugees from Europe did not in general find their condition in Barbary very agreeable. Besides the horrors of unlimited despotism which

* Read the whole Number X. of the Freeholder. What is there said of Ishmael, is equally true of Abdallah.

hung over them, in the same manner as the rest of the people, they were the objects of general detestation, and entirely excluded from society. They were most of them atrocious criminals, polluted with blood, who fled from the vengeance of the laws.* Some of them, however, who came recommended by talents or ingenuity, obtained distinction and were tolerably well rewarded.

A little before the arrival of Ripperda, one Carr, an Irishman, who had embraced the Mahometan religion, and was called by the Moors Alcaide Ally, or believer, resided at Mequinez in a degree of wealth and comfort. He was employed in casting cannon for the service of the Emperor, and had an extensive foundery in the town. He had been a governor on the frontiers of Guinea, and had an employment of good profit. He had been much caressed by Muley Ishmael, who used to give him his clothes off his back.

Pilet, a Frenchman, commanded for a short time the naval force at Sallee.

Ripperda, trusting to the rank he had filled in Europe, and to the name he brought along with him, as well as to the promises and assurances of Perez, expected to have none superior to him

* I believe the number of European refugees in Barbary, is at present very inconsiderable. In Morocco they are most of them Spanish; in Algiers, Italians. While Mr. Falcon was in this last place, they were only between fifty and a hundred,—all renegadoes.

besides the Emperor. Before his departure from Holland, he put all his pecuniary affairs under the management of a Mr. Troyes, a merchant in Amsterdam, with whom he had corresponded while in Spain. Some of his money he had remitted in bills of exchange to Barbary; the greater part of his fortune he left secured in Europe. Having completed these arrangements, he set sail from Amsterdam, accompanied by Dona Josepha, his French servant, and a French cook he had hired to attend him. He arrived at Tangier in November, 1732. He formed an acquaintance with many of the Jew merchants established there, and obtained from them lights respecting the country he was coming to reside in. He did not however remain long at Tangier, but, with letters of introduction and recommendation from Perez, repaired to Mequinez, the residence of the Emperor. He met with a distinguished reception at his court, as he had been promised, and began to prepare himself for the very unpleasant ceremony he had to undergo.

It was impossible for him to occupy any situation of dignity or power, indeed the most slender employment, without embracing the faith of Mahomet; and it was not only by uttering a few professions, as in other religions, that he would be deemed a convert, but pain was to be endured and some danger incurred.

When the founder of the Mahometan religion

transferred this mark of conversion from the Jewish ritual to his own, he must have trusted a good deal to the descending resolution and fanaticism of mankind for many proselytes in succeeding times. As, however, Ripperda knew there was no other way of gratifying his ambition, he resolved to submit.

He hinted to his servant, who expected to follow him in his exploits and share in his fortunes, that as he too must go through the operation, it would not be amiss if the trial was made upon him, by which he should feel himself much encouraged. The poor fellow did not hesitate at this instance of complaisance. It was performed upon him with skill and dexterity, and he assured his master it was a mere trifle. But when it came to the master's turn, he was not so fortunate. The operator, either accidentally, or from a secret spite, made a slip with his knife, and the bleeding patient was carried home in a swoon. The Christians of Mequinez put up devout prayers for a *judgment;* it did not please heaven to gratify them. Ripperda in the end recovered, but was long confined to his house by the consequences of his wound, and we may suppose was not much edified with the first taste he had of his new religion. He would have found his sick room intolerable, had it not been for frequent visits from a most pleasant original. This was the Rev. Father Bosset, a Frenchman, a renegado monk, who, since his change of reli-

gious creed, called himself Ali Den. He was a debauchee of unbounded conviviality and good humour. He had not long been a monk, when the rules of monastic celibacy not at all agreeing with his constitution, he passed over to England and abjured the Catholic faith. Still straitened in the variety and comprehensiveness of his tastes by any form of Christian establishment, he migrated to Barbary, and became a Mahometan. His perpetual mirth and inexhaustible buffoonery made him a favourite with Muley Abdallah. The stern ferocious tyrant relaxed into a smile at his sallies; he did not spare the religion he had adopted, any more than those he had forsaken. "These Mahometan priests hate me, (would he say) they would gladly burn me alive; but the Emperor laughs;—protected by him, I am not afraid."

As soon as Ripperda was well enough for the business of active life, he was appointed to command the Moorish troops, and he took measures to expel the Spaniards from the few places they had left on the coast of Africa.

One of these, Ceuta, had undergone many years what was termed a blockade, though that name could not very properly be given to the kind of warfare the Moors maintained.

Four or five thousand men were drawn from the neighbouring country, and relieved every month. They received so little disturbance from the besieged, as to cultivate gardens, and have

their regular sowings and harvest round their encampment. On the other hand, these were scarcely interrupted in their excursions.

Ripperda converted this irregular blockade into a regular siege. Some French Hugunot engineers were engaged to direct the operations. He himself headed the besieging troops; and parties of the garrison sallying forth, some pretty sharp contests took place.

He had the misfortune to lose his French servant. Full of enterprise and wishing to distinguish himself, the unfortunate fellow had ventured to go into the town as a spy. He was discovered, and handed over to the Inquisition, who, after a short process, gave him a copious foretaste of the torments he had to expect in another world. His indeed was a bad case; three times had he accompanied his master in a change of religion; —a Protestant in Holland, a Catholic in Spain, neither one or the other in England, a Mussulman in Barbary.

Ripperda was convinced he could make little progress in this or any other attempt with the Moorish troops, undisciplined and tumultuary as they were. He was confirmed in this opinion by a variety of little encounters he had with the Spaniards along the coast. On all these occasions his friend the gallant Father Bosset, othewise Ali Den, rode at the head of a party of horse, and behaved with the most distinguished intrepidity.

He resolved, in prosecution of his projects of ambition and vengeance, to new-model the military establishment of Morocco; indeed, to give a new face and bearing to the whole Empire. He considered himself in the situation of Peter the Great of Rússia; destined to fetch order and power out of the confusion and feebleness of barbarism.

Whatever forces lie scattered in the irregular, ill-cemented mass which is denominated the Empire of Morocco, they are wielded by a single hand. The Emperor is armed with a despotism which no barrier checks, which no one circumstance qualifies or moderates. Acccording to the waverings of his whim and caprice, he disposes of the lives and property of his subjects. No orderly array of manners stands before his throne. The highest of his ministers, his nod confounds with the meanest of his slaves. He raises or dashes to the ground, without any rule to direct him, or opinion which commands his respect. The grand treasurer shall be employed to catch his spittle, and a groom of his stables to negociate a treaty. All fugitive phantoms representing him alone; to-day, a man shall be adorned as prime minister; to-morrow be stripped to his shirt, and receive five hundred blows on his bare buttocks. The character and tendencies of such a government are impressed on every part of the circumference through which it extends. If they are discernible in the poverty and wretchedness of the people,

they are equally so in the blood which stains the the palace of the sovereign.

The benignity of nature is attested to the weary traveller by the smiling harvests which wave round him in some parts; the orchards loaded with fruit; the gardens of delicious verdure and fragrance, which relieve his thirst and receive him in their friendly shades. But it is not long before he beholds the iron gripe of arbitrary power in the immense tracts of desolation which extend before his aching sight. If ever the idea of independence obtrudes itself in his progress, it is in the persons of some fanatics and impostors who call themselves saints, and who have little principalites in the bosom of the Empire. The great body of the inhabitants consists of Moors, properly so called. But on this dusky canvas arise various shades and distinctions. Multitudes of negroes were introduced by Muley Ishmael, who was himself the offspring of a negro mother. They were supposed to exceed the number of a hundred thousand.

Tribes of wandering Arabs are perpetually in motion. They pitch their tents wherever they are invited by the luxuriancy of vegetation. Having exhausted one spot, they migrate to another.

A few renegadoes and Christian slaves relieve the gloom of this sun-burnt population.

The power of an Emperor of Morocco has no limits, and neither his person nor reign any security. He is perpetually inflicting death, and

in perpetual apprehensions of it. Scarcely is one rebellion suppressed, when another arises; nor is his bosom entirely guarded against the dagger of a competitor. As the sceptre is not transmitted by any recognised rule of succession, no sooner has the Emperor expired, than all his sons * by his numerous wives and concubines commence a bloody contest. He who is supported by the largest and most determined party obtains a temporary ascendant. The son by the deceased Emperor's favourite woman has the advantage of arrangements made to open his way.

Muley Ishmael had brought the negroes to serve as a guard to the Prince upon the throne, and restrain his other subjects; but they soon grew mutinous, and while they oppressed the people, became formidable to the possessor of government.

They constituted the principal strength of the army, to which Ripperda first turned his attention. The remainder was made up of hasty levies from the provinces, irregularly armed with muskets and lances, or cross-bows, slings, and clubs, for the most part fighting on horseback.

Every Moor is a soldier, and bound to perform military service when summoned into the field. The negroes were intended for a chosen band to

* Muley Ishmael had no less than nine hundred sons and three hundred daughters. A whole town was peopled with his offspring.

fight about the person of the Emperor. They were consecrated by the most tremendous ceremonies of superstition.

The only order of battle the Moors are acquainted with, is a crescent; in which whatever infantry they have, occupy the middle, and the horse execute their evolutions on the wings. In rushing upon the enemy, they set up the most hideous shouts.

While Ripperda was busy in his new capacity of general, and introducing a number of reforms, political as well as military, he was informed of a decree in which the King of Spain deprived him of his Dukedom, and degraded him from the rank of Grandee. He heard at the same time of a considerable Spanish expedition, for the conquest of Oran. Oran belonged to the Algerines. It was now expedient to concert measures of defence with this power; and the scheme of uniting all the states of Barbary against Spain, strongly pressed upon his mind.

The Algerines, and the inhabitants of Tunis and Tripoli, that extend beyond them to the confines of Egypt, are of a political description quite different from the Empire of Morocco. These four, beginning with Morocco, occupy in this order the whole line of coast from the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt. Morocco turns down the angle, and stretches along the Atlantic as far as Cape Non. They are known by the name of the Piratical States of Barbary.

The system of piracy which has fixed upon them this name, may be traced back to the close of the fifteenth century. The Turkish power was then at its height: while its armies carried terror along the banks of the Danube to the walls of Vienna, fleets of brigantines issued from the ports in the Levant and the islands of the Archipelago, preying indiscriminately on the commerce of all Christian states. But Spain and Italy suffered most from the desperate valour and enterprising spirit which hurried along their barbarous crews. Often would they land, carrying away the fortunes of the inhabitants, and even whole families. Towns were scarcely secure from their attempts. These crews were not selected from any one nation; they did not display any authorised flag. Their commanders were not appointed by any potentate or government; the majority of them were indeed Turks, and they paid an irregular obedience to Constantinople. But they admitted natives of all countries, and a military tumultuary choice assigned the command to the most daring of the motley multitude. They ranged along every shore which circumscribes the Mediterranean, carrying off prizes in one place and selling them in another, exhibiting the grotesque and not uninteresting spectacle of undaunted courage, wild festivity, warlike magnificence, and careless profusion.

The convenience of the African coast tempted them to some establishments near the creeks and harbours; their numbers were increased by the

Moors who were expelled from Spain. At length, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Horuc, a native of Lesbos, who got the name of Barbarossa from his red beard, the most renowned pirate of the time, took regular possession of Algiers; and from him has rolled, down a stream of blood, a government of a most singular complexion.

This government is in the hands of between fourteen and eighteen thousand Turks scattered over the extent of the Algerine territories. These Turks, as they call themselves, are composed of robbers, murderers, malefactors of every description, the refuse of the Levant; to whom agents, established in different parts of the Turkish Empire, add occasionally children whom they kidnap. The recruits are brought to them by ships whom they send to the different ports for the purpose. The supply is never more than five hundred a year; sometimes three or four years elapse without a single recruit.

The sovereigns of Algiers have this feature in common with the Mamalucks who govern Egypt. The means which nature has provided for the continuation of the human species, produce no effect among them. The name of an Algerine Turk is in execration all over Turkey; no Turkish woman will so much as hold conversation with one, much less be tempted to his embraces; instances have occurred of Turkish women driven by storms into the ports of Algiers, whom all the entreaties of

the Dey could not persuade to accept of a palace he offered them during their temporary stay. The Algerine Turk will seldom stoop to a Moorish woman; and as the offspring of their union would not be deemed Turks, nor entitled to their privileges, the appetites of nature are satisfied with unnatural indulgences, and the generation that disappears, is succeeded by one which comes from abroad.

This Turkish soldiery have at their head a Dey, whom they elect among themselves, and invest with the cafetan, the ensign of command. Almost always this robe is dyed with the blood of his predecessor. As long as he can keep it about his shoulders, his power has no assignable limits; he decides on peace and war, levies taxes, disposes of employments, and directs all affairs, both foreign and domestic, without controul or responsibility. But the real limits are in the violence and insurrection which break out on the least discontent. There is scarcely an instance of a Dey's closing his life under the hand of nature. Yet, precarious as his power is, he generally exercises it without moderation or mercy; he is nowise sparing of irritation and offence, though the dagger awaits him at the end of a short career.

The naval force of Algiers constitutes the whole of its strength; it has no army, but the few Turks who disdain all subordination or discipline, and a Moorish cavalry assembled and com-

posed in this manner :—On report of a threatened invasion, the Dey sends round his commands ; the country people mount their horses, and armed with whatever weapons they can procure, pour down to the sea-shore. Its naval force has varied at different times ; seldom have its ships ventured much beyond the Mediterranean ; yet in the middle of the seventeenth century, when its ports sent out sixty-five of a large size, they extended their cruises far into the ocean, and even approached the British shores. Their number fell to nineteen or twenty ; and since the early part of the last century, to fourteen of different descriptions ; which is the present number. The territory produces no timber ; a little is procured from Mogadore, in the Empire of Morocco, but the greater part of the vessels are presents from European states, whom they intimidate by menaces of war. They extort powder and ammunition by the same means. Tunis and Tripoli are governments built on the same foundation as Algiers, and composed of the same elements, differing only in being on a smaller scale. All three are wholly foreign ; the native population is crushed beneath an iron yoke ; the government of Morocco alone is of African growth. The Emperors are descended from a religious impostor, who, about the year 1500, under the name of Cherif, which has been transmitted to the princes deriving from him, rendered himself successively master of the provinces which

compose this Empire. The Moors soon imitated the example of piracy set to them by their neighbours. The town of Sallee possessed a precarious and qualified independence. It regarded itself as a commonwealth under the protection of the Moorish Emperors; it was governed by its own municipal laws and regulations. From this spark of liberty was kindled a very active spirit of naval enterprise. The Sallee rovers were renowned for the boldness and extent of their depredations. But, some time before the arrival of Ripperda, the entrance into the harbour was nearly choaked up with sand. He had cherished the hope not only of driving the Spaniards from the shores of Africa, but, at the head of the united and disciplined barbarians, of invading Spain. He discovered the impossibility of conducting them to a scheme requiring so much combination in the planning, and constancy and perseverance in the execution.

Notwithstanding the Algerines sent a fleet to sea, and brought some troops into the field to oppose the attempt of the Spaniards upon Oran, the town fell into their hands. This conquest was achieved by the Count de Montemar. The Moors were overcome in a general engagement before Ceuta, and the military operations of Ripperda were not more fortunate, than had been his performances in the capacity of financier. He had resumed this his old employment.

Muley Abdallah had appointed him Effendi, or prime minister; and he had the management of the revenues of the Moorish Empire.

These revenues arise from a tenth of every article of consumption, according to the regulation of the Koran; an annual tax upon the Jews; custom-house and excise duties; tributes exacted from subjects, foreign states, and European merchants, in the form of presents. The whole, if regularly collected, would amount to five hundred quintals of silver, each worth three hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling.

But the collection is never regular. Though the Emperor claims dominion over an extent of territory as low down as Cape Non, yet his sovereignty in much of this extent is merely nominal. The chains of mount Atlas are occupied by a race of mountaineers whose depredations he is often unable to repress, and from whom he must be content with a slender and occasional tribute.

The saints divert into their own coffers the revenues around them, allowing the people to pay taxes to none but themselves.

Where civil war, more or less confined, is perpetually raging; where property is not protected either against violence or power; where so much of the country lies uncultivated, and new regions of barrenness are often added to what was before; no stated revenue can be depended upon: it is liable to sudden diminutions which baffle calculation.

This Ripperda found; and he was much perplexed to defray the expenses of the warfare he had advised. In this emergency he bethought himself of debasing the coin: and this device was received at first not only without murmurs, but with applause, by an ignorant people. They saw with pleasure twice the expense covered by the same quantity of treasure. The foreign merchants quickly opened their eyes. As the coin had lost one-half of its value, two pieces were demanded for what had before only cost one.

Ripperda did not neglect this opportunity of improving his own fortune. He employed the Jews, who are the common brokers and negociators in all money transactions, to exchange the base coin for good money; which he locked up in his own chest.

The condition of the Jews in Barbary merits some notice. Multitudes are established in all parts. They are, for the most part, descended from those who were banished from Spain. There is no species of oppression or insult which they do not endure. Punishments are often inflicted upon them, at which human nature shudders: yet in them is exemplified the propensity of man, in whatever circumstances he is placed, to multiply his possessions. Some of them grow immensely rich. There are Jew merchants at Algiers who possess the wealth of princes. The commerce of the country is almost entirely in their hands. They are busy in every branch of the administration of

the revenue. Their riches are not to them productive of any enjoyment; they live in constant anxiety and dread. Some of their relations who escape to Europe are enabled, by bills of exchange, to taste those pleasures from which themselves are for ever excluded. The conduct of Ripperda, both as an unsuccessful general and a fraudulent minister of finance, excited the bitter discontent of the people. His character of a renegado more particularly fixed upon him the detestation of the Moors. Those who distinguished themselves among his enemies, set on foot a report (which they industriously propagated, hoping it would reach the Emperor, and insinuate itself into his belief), that his disgrace at the court of Spain, and the seeming animosity against him, were for the purpose of facilitating his admission into the Moorish dominions; that he had a secret understanding with the Spaniards, and had contributed to put them in possession of Oran; that he was labouring to render them masters of some kingdom in Africa, which was to devolve to an infant of Spain. "Is it conceivable, (they insisted), that a man possessing lands and honours in Holland, after having filled eminent employments in Europe, should come to this remote part of the world merely as an adventurer to seek his fortune?" The Jews joined in the clamour against him, and published some of the secrets in which he had employed them, resenting a tax of four doubloons a

day, which had been imposed upon them for his support. The Emperor was not a stranger to the charges against him, and the state of the popular feelings: but besides that the Emperors of Morocco do not pay much regard to the wishes or feelings of their subjects, Ripperda had a powerful protector at the court of Muley Abdallah. The Emperor's mother * was a princess of a very warm constitution. Though covered with the frost of years, her amorous appetites were as importunate as ever. Her wants had been supplied by a Spanish renegado, whom she had kept for that purpose; but at the sight of our veteran adventurer, she was seized with an unaccountable passion for him. The overtures of a Queen of Morocco are not liable to misconstruction, and admit of no hesitation in the person to whom they are made. He served her as well as he could, and she in return employed her influence over her son to protect him from his subjects.

He was created a Bashaw, and became a prin-

* The Spanish author says she was an English woman. European women have often been in the harem of the Emperors of Morocco. It is certain that Muley Ishmael had an English concubine: but so remarkable a circumstance as an English woman's having given birth to Abdallah, must have been taken notice of either by Commodore Stewart, who visited Morocco during the life of Ishmael; or Captain Braithwaite, who was there a little after his death; and neither mentions it. Abdallah had an English woman, and the present Emperor of Morocco is descended from her.

cipal favourite at the court of Mequinez. But the heads he saw falling on every side of him, too strongly reminded him his turn might be next. His ambition was not strong-nerved enough for such a daily spectacle. It had in a great measure evaporated, and with it had fled his repose; when the old Queen his protectress was snatched from him by a violent death.

A mortal hatred and rivalship subsisted between her and the favourite wife of her son. Both were desirous of exercising undivided and unlimited influence. The wife at last, tired of a competition which thwarted her designs, put an end to it by a decisive blow. A female attendant of the old Queen was bribed to infuse a good portion of poison into a dish of coffee; which she had no sooner taken than she fell into convulsions, and three days after was no more.

Ripperda had now every reason to expect a prompt deliverance from his earthly troubles; when one of those revolutions, of which Morocco is frequently the theatre, gave him an opportunity of escaping from his greatness, and conveyed him to a situation of some security.

Muley Abdallah beheld with terror the multitudes of negroes whom his father had introduced into the Empire, and distributed round his palace. Their insolent clamours were perpetually raised to extort from him fresh sums of money. The instruments of his cruelties, they were ready to serve his

inhumanity, but disdained to submit their licentiousness to his controul. Desirous of reducing their numbers, and subduing their power, he invited the people in the mountains to fall upon them. They drove him from his capital, and he was compelled to hide himself among the mountains and forests of Taffilet. Muley Ali was proclaimed Emperor, and for a time exercised the imperial prerogatives of desolation and blood. Ripperda did not think of accompanying the fallen monarch, but fled to Tetuan.

The Bashaw of Tetuan extends his authority over a tract of territory not exceeded in extent by many kingdoms in Europe. In the bloody struggles between rival Emperors, the Bashaws are accustomed to wait the event of the contest, espousing neither side, but maintaining themselves in a state of independence. This was the conduct pursued by the Bashaw of Tetuan; and that quiet which Ripperda was not qualified to enjoy, was offered to him under his protection.

Tetuan stands nearly opposite to Gibraltar, at the opening of the Straits. Its situation is a rising ground between two high mountains. It is five miles from the sea, with which it communicates by a river. The prospect is delightful; —the distant sea; the river winding through the valley; the busy appearance of navigation; the contrast of the lofty mountains, skirting the gay scenery with their rugged and barren sides.

The town itself is poor and filthy; the streets narrow, and almost covered by the projection of the houses: but the valley below, dressed in all the charms of natural fertility and high cultivation, presents a most inviting appearance.

Here the richer inhabitants have their villas. Some of them are extremely elegant, built after the European fashion, and in the newest taste of architecture. They are embowered among orange groves, and refreshed by cascades and water-works. Ripperda chose one of these as the place of his retirement. He was accompanied by Dona Josepha; and as he was plentifully supplied with money, he wanted none of those conveniencies or luxuries, which however seldom relieve in any great degree the insipidity of an unoccupied life.

The produce of the four quarters of the globe is poured into Tetuan. It receives from Fez not only the growth and manufacture of the Moorish dominions, but what merchants and caravans bring from Tunis, Algiers, the Levant, Alexandria, and Guinea. It sends provisions and fruit to Gibraltar and Spain, and all the variety of Europe is obtained in exchange.

The French cook who had attended Ripperda from Holland, gave seasoning and elegance to the plenty of this extensive market.

He might have provided himself with a harem; but the wanton Spaniard was more than sufficient for him, considering his age and infirmities.

The pleasure of mixed society and conversation was not to be found at Tetuan. A number of Jew merchants resided there. There are likewise consuls from the nations of Europe. They however but indifferently filled up the void. He tried to amuse himself by speculations and improvements in husbandry. He procured a grant of a considerable tract of waste land, and had a variety of implements of agriculture sent to him from Europe. His intention was to instruct the barbarous inhabitants in the modes of European tillage: but he spent his money; none or few were instructed, and himself little amused.

In these circumstances a visit from Ali Den gave him the most sensible pleasure.

Ali had not deserted Muley Abdallah in his misfortunes. He submitted with cheerfulness to the hardships of a wandering life in Taffilet. This he did not from respect or affection; for Abdallah was not a man to inspire either; but in obedience to an honest impulse which bade him adhere to his benefactor. He came to Tetuan upon a mission to observe the dispositions of the people towards the dethroned Emperor. Ripperda and the Bashaw, who had recently acknowledged the usurper, pressed him to follow their example, and abandon an execrable tyrant.—"No!" exclaimed the generous renegado: "he is a tyrant if you "will; but he befriended and protected me. Let "an occasion present itself; I will cut him out a

" passage to the throne, or perish in the attempt!" —The feelings of honourable attachment still warmed his breast. These he had not flung away, like most libertines of his description, along with the virtues of private life.

As no immediate prospect opened itself of serving his master, he remained at Tetuan, and had many nightly meetings with Ripperda, in which these Mussulmen enlivened conversation with a bottle of good wine.

This last was roused from the torpor of inaction by the adventures of an old friend and companion.

As early as the year 1729, disturbances had broken out in Corsica. The inhabitants, resenting the exactions and oppressions of the Genoese government, had recourse to arms. But still the insurrection was without a determinate form; when, in March, 1736, a vessel from Tunis, carrying English colours, arrived at Alcria, one of the ports of the island. A stranger richly habited landed from this vessel. He was thus described:—

His coat, made after the fashion of the Levant, was scarlet lined with fur. He wore a handsome wig covered by a broad-brimmed hat, turned up on one side in a cavalier manner. A long Spanish sword hung at his side; and in his hand he twirled about a taper hooked cane. He had a large attendance of persons, whom he distinguished by the

names of maître-d'hotel, secretary, chaplain. They appeared the household of a person of distinction.

As he did not immediately disclose his name, opinions were divided who he was:—The Pretender, according to some; Count Bonneval from Turkey, according to others. A third party affirmed it was Ripperda himself. But it was soon discovered that this extraordinary stranger was a Prussian gentleman, Theodore Anthony Baron de Newoff.

His life had been curiously chequered with incidents. In his youth he had been in the French service. From this he had repaired to Baron Gortz in Sweden. By him he was sent to Spain. He was known to Cardinal Alberoni, and contracted an acquaintance with Ripperda. This latter procured him a young lady in marriage, of a good family and some fortune. Newoff, not much pleased with her person, decamped one day without warning, accompanied by the greater part of her moveables. Paris was at this time the resort of all those enterprising spirits who did not think of gaining a fortune by slow mechanical industry, but by rapid invention and brisk intrepidity. Law was in the midst of his brilliant experiments in finance. He received Newoff as a brother of his soul, and initiated him in the mysteries of his profession. Paris was for some time an agreeable residence. Newoff enjoyed all the pleasures of

fashionable life; when some troublesome creditors occasioned his abrupt departure for England. It soon became inconvenient to continue in England; and he shifted the scene of his amusements to Amsterdam. His excursions extended to Italy and the Levant; when, hearing of the troubles of Corsica, he conceived the idea of becoming King of the island. He went to Tunis, and communicated his project to the Dey, who afforded him the means of carrying it into effect.

He was elected King of Corsica a month after his arrival. He assumed the state of a sovereign prince. Three hundred men with drawn swords composed his guard. Two pieces of artillery were planted at his door. He proceeded to name his officers of state. He had his generalissimos, and governors of towns and provinces, his treasurer, and keeper of the seals. He was arbitrary and despotic in his government;—several persons were hung and shot by his orders.

Ripperda felt great zeal to support this new-sprung monarchy. He sent money to Theodore He undertook several journeys to Mequinez. But Theodore, not satisfied with the amount of his remittances, and doubting of his ability to render him any essential service, turned himself to another quarter. He found a rich Jew at Tunis, one Mordecai Senaga, who consented to make him large advances on the adventurous speculation of

commercial benefits to be conferred upon him and the Jewish people when Theodore was in confirmed possession of Corsica. The Jews were to be put in possession of the port of Aleria, forming a commonwealth of their own, without any other mark of subjection than the payment of five per cent. on all imported merchandize.

Ripperda, neglected even by Theodore, fell into complete lowness of spirits. The death of Dona Josepha gave a shock to his mind he was little able to bear in his state of melancholy and depression. She had been attacked with a dropsical complaint, and, in hopes of relief from medical skill in Europe, had embarked for Amsterdam; where she died soon after her arrival.

Ripperda's brain became affected with religious extravagances. He fancied himself inspired to promulgate a new religion. The Jewish, the Christian, the Mahometan, were but types and forerunners of a more perfect revelation confided to him. Elias, David, St. John the Baptist, all the prophets, had foretold his coming.* As no doctrine is so absurd as not to gain proselytes, he was heard with favour and conviction by multitudes. The Mahometan bigots took the alarm, and charged him with blasphemy and impiety. His friend Ali, and a few of his way of thinking, smiled.

* L'Abbé Prevot, le pour et le contre.

He died at Tetuan, towards the end of the year 1737. Of the children of his first marriage, the son married a daughter of Count Cobentzel, and established himself in Holland; the daughter married, in Spain, a man of good family. One of his sons by his Spanish wife had a small government in Spanish America.

THE

LIFE

OF

THE MARQUIS DE POMBAL.

SEBASTIAN JOSEPH DE CARVALHO, afterwards Count d'Oeyras, and, at a still later period, Marquis de Pombal, the name by which he will be known to the generality of readers, was born in 1699, in the village of Soure, in the territory of Coimbra in Portugal.

His family, though in indigent circumstances, belonged to the class of what was denominated nobility, and might be called gentlemen in England; his father's name was Emanuel. Emanuel had a brother, Paul, who filled an ecclesiastical situation of some dignity and importance in the capital of the kingdom; by his influence he had obtained in marriage Donna Theresa de Mendoza, of a distinguished family, the mother of the subject of this history.

Sebastian Joseph was in early youth intended for the profession of the law, and was sent to Coimbra to pursue a course of studies suitable to this destination; but little could he brook the restraints to which it necessarily subjected him: he soon left the place in disgust, and repaired to the capital; where a military life presented the strongest allurements to a person of his lively genius and restless turn of mind.

His stature was lofty, almost gigantic; he was endued with a proportionable degree of bodily strength; his courage no dangers or difficulties ever overcame. It is probable, however, that want had the largest share in impelling him to the service, if it be true that he entered it as a common soldier. He is said to have raised himself to the rank of corporal; but it is easy to conceive that this slow and subordinate gradation would have little to please him. He seems to have been again at large about the year 1735: he had before this married a widow of the name of Mendoza, of a family considerable enough to regard themselves degraded by an alliance with him. Whether to escape from the difficulties occasioned by their resentment, or thinking it prudent to hide the struggles of poverty at some distance from the capital, he sought the place of his nativity, Soure, and languished here for some time in obscurity; but the same poverty which brought him, drove him out again. He determined once more to try his fortune in Lisbon,

hoping to derive some assistance from his uncle, Paul. He was this time more fortunate than before: by means of his uncle he became known to Cardinal de Motta, a prelate in high favour with the reigning monarch, John V. Thus advanced into notice, he continued enlarging the circle of his friends and protectors, and at length he obtained an appointment which may be thought to have exceeded his early prospects, that of envoy-extraordinary to the court of London.

In this situtation he remained from 1739 to 1745, during which time he very little attracted the attention of his cotemporaries; his name not occurring in any newspapers or periodical publications of the time, but merely as having on one occasion delivered in a memorial against certain duties imposed upon Portugal wines. It may, however, be supposed that he was not wholly inattentive to the spectacle of a free and prosperous nation; he was fired with the ambition of transferring some of this prosperity to his own country. The ideas of changes and reforms were kindled in his mind. It is related that he regarded the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole with peculiar fondness and admiration. Such may have been his sentiments; but that they had little influence on his conduct, cannot be doubted by any one who compares that mild and pacific statesman with the character of Carvalho, as displayed in his subse-

quent life. Destiny was busy in preparing the events from which this display was to arise.

In 1745 he was recalled, and the same year sent on a special mission to Vienna; he had been a widower some years, and was now at liberty to profit by the kind glances of any of the German ladies. With the advantages of person he possessed, he did not long wait without experiencing their partiality. The young Countess Daun, related to the celebrated Marshal of that name, became enamoured of him; and, notwithstanding the opposition of her family and friends, consented to become his second wife. She was known to have a coniderable share in the good graces of the Queen of Portugal, an Austrian princess: when, therefore, Carvalho returned to Lisbon soon after his marriage, he carried with him an ambition much expanded by the prospects before him; but owever favourable these prospects on the side of the Queen, they received little encouragement from the character of the King her husband.

John V. had mounted the throne as early as the year 1707, and his long reign had passed like one continued sleep, interrupted only by the frivolous business of superstition. Nothing did he dread so much as any call which might disturb this mental lethargy, this ignoble repose, which preyed upon himself and his kingdom. No character, therefore, so unwelcome to him as that of a

schemer and proposer of reforms; and many expressions had escaped Carvalho, which sufficiently betrayed that designs of this kind were fermenting in his brain. He would often lament the degraded state of Portugal, and insinuate that the political knowledge he had acquired in England, and the range of ideas his travels had let him into, particularly qualified him to raise the kingdom from this its fallen condition. No wonder then that he encountered invincible repugnance on the part of the monarch, and that the patronage of the Queen, from which he had promised himself so much, could not procure for him any situation of power or confidence. He endeavoured to gain over the monastic tribe that surrounded the throne, and is said, in accounts of his life published by his enemies, to have practised a thousand meannesses for this purpose. He was particularly assiduous about the Jesuits, but he often complained that his assiduity could obtain nothing from them but cold and lingering negociations in his favour. It may be conjectured these fathers saw through all his grimace and were persuaded that plans of reform, conceived in London, had not the interests of their order for their object. The dislike with which he possibly surveyed them before, would, in his gloomy soul, be turned into malignant hatred by such conduct. As long as King John lived, this hatred could only torment the bosom in which it rankled; but his death, which hap-

pened in 1750, opened new prospects with the new reign.

One Jesuit Carvalho had been able to blind, and that was Father Moreira, confessor to the Prince of Brazil, who had succeeded under the name of King Joseph; and, according to the genius of the court of Lisbon, the recommendations of a confessor would be of the greatest weight: to these recommendations was joined the influence of the Queen mother; and as the main obstacle to his advancement was removed, Carvalho at length reaped the fruit of all his ambitious machinations. He was, at the commencement of the new reign, appointed one of the three secretaries of state, by whose triple ministry the affairs of the kingdom were conducted. The foreign department was confided to him, and from this period he is to be regarded as the leading political character in the transactions of Portugal. One soon occurred which served to display the bent of his disposition, and convinced his friend, Father Moreira, that he had been nursing into favour the most determined enemy of his order.

The transaction in question had its origin in the late reign. The courts of Lisbon and Madrid, actuated by different views, had, not long before the death of John, concluded a treaty of exchange relative to their possessions in South America. An opinion had long prevailed that in those parts of that immense continent which were occupied

by what were called the Jesuit Missions, were concealed abundant mines of the precious metals: this opinion received some countenance from the the anxiety displayed by these holy men to exclude strangers, and was converted into a direct charge by the enemies they had provoked in all parts of Europe. The supposed fact on which the charge was founded, they had always vehemently denied, and repeatedly solicited inquiries and examinations on the spot; but malice and avarice are never to be convinced. An individual at Rio Janeiro, one Gomez Pereira, whether a dupe or impostor, cannot now be determined, had taken up the speculation of concealed treasures, and contrived to make the governor, Gomez Freire d'Andrada, participate in his opinion. It may seem strange that such an opinion should have found its way into the lazy bigoted councils of King John; but so it was. The Portuguese ministry became suddenly seized with a violent passion to ransack the unexplored wealth so pointed out to them, and proposed to the court of Madrid the exchange of the Colonia de Sacramento for seven of the districts denominated Missions, on the banks of the Paraguay. The Spanish government, which had long been persuaded that the wealth in question was entirely visionary, readily concurred in a scheme which promised solid for imaginary advantages. The Colonia de Sacramento secured the territory of Buenos Ayres on the northern side

of the La Plata, and locked out all communication between the Portuguese province of Brazil and those regions over which Spain exercises a doubtful title in the interior and southern parts of the vast continent.

The treaty being concluded, Andrada, the governor of Rio Janeiro, was named, on the part of Portugal, and the Marquis de Valderios, on that of Spain, to carry it into execution. Had King John lived, it is probable the Jesuits and their cabal would have been able to delay, possibly to intercept, the execution altogether; but when Carvalho came to have the principal influence in the councils, it was urged forward and conducted with extraordinary harshness. The numerous obstacles which arose might have been foreseen; the measure could not fail of encountering whatever opposition the poor Indians could give. They had been taught to regard all strangers with fear and hatred, and these sentiments had been particularly pointed against the Portuguese: when therefore they saw themselves handed over, like so many herds of cattle, to those whom their imaginations painted as tyrants of the most depraved and execrable character, every motion of resentment and indignation was naturally awakened in their breasts.

A number of the most abandoned out-casts from society, assembled from all countries, Portuguese, Spanish, English, Dutch, and Italian,

had established themselves in a town and district called St. Paulo, surrounded by inaccesible mountains and impervious forests, situate within the limits of Brazil to the northward of Rio Janeiro. For want of European women they allied themselves with the natives of the country, and from this intercourse sprung up a mixed breed of a most profligate and ferocious description. They scarcely acknowledged the Portuguese sovereignty, yet, included within the Portuguese territories, they were constantly regarded by the affrighted Indians as Portuguese; receiving however the distinguishing appellation of the Mamelusses of Brazil. The Indians among them, those who had embraced Christianity, trembled at their name. They often descended from their impregnable fastnesses, and scoured the country round, destroying every thing before them, and dragging the natives into slavery. The Missions scattered near the northern branches of the Parana, over the district of Guaira, had, not many years before, been exposed to their ravages. Fourteen of the Jesuit establishments had fallen a prey to their predatory incursions; and of the two millions of slaves whom they had, in the compass of a century, swept away, fifty thousand had been members of these establishments. The order to submit to the government of Portugal appeared to the Indians as establishing the authority of these miscreants over them, and signifying that men whom they had

resisted as a band of robbers and pillagers, were to become their lawful governors.*

The missionaries, who saw all their labours suddenly frustrated, the policy of a century overturned in one blow, could not, with the feelings of men, but be averse to the scheme. They at first remonstrated against it; afterwards, when they saw no prospect of altering the resolution of the two courts, they did not indeed openly preach resistance, which they must have foreseen would be ineffectual, and would too pointedly contradict their habitual doctrines of submission and obedience —they even exhorted the Indians to comply. It would be departing from the fairness and candour of history to accuse them of having underhand counteracted the effect of these public exhortations, and secretly instigated the hostilities they seemed labouring to prevent; such charges were thrown out against them by their enemies at the time. The impartial historian will certainly not adopt them, when full and minute evidence has not been produced in their support; but a slender knowledge of human nature will warrant him in asserting, that exhortations so repugnant to the feelings and wishes of the exhorters were not likely to be very efficacious. The poor Indians took up arms, bodies of men were marched against them. The details of such petty and ignoble warfare cannot be interesting to any reader; though Carvalho

* Muratori's Paraguay.

is ridiculed as having attached a ludricrous and burlesque importance to the atchievements of his troops. The result was, that the savages were crushed, and the system of the Jesuit Missions in South America prepared for an utter subversion. This system is now no more: it has fallen with the renowned order of men by whose labours it was formed, and under whom it grew up to a certain degree of maturity. It has left considerable traces in the regions in which it was seated; but, considering it as a branch of the order of Jesuits, it exists only in historical retrospection, and it belongs to history to collect the facts and exercise judgment upon them.

The order of the Jesuits sprung up soon after the period of the reformation, when whole kingdoms and nations separated themselves from the communion of the Church of Rome. To replenish her exhausted bosom, to restore to her what she had lost, and, if possible, increase her possessions, were the declared objects of the institution. These objects appear interwoven in its original frame. To go into any part of the world where the Pope commanded them, was one of the vows pronounced by Ignatius Loyola and his six companions in whom the idea of the order originated. These objects were perhaps at first only indistinctly in contemplation; at least the arrangements and regulations for pursuing them systematically were some time in their

growth; they received a sort of completion from Laynz and Aquaviva, successors of Loyola.

The ardour of the men who enlisted under the banners of the order, and engaged themselves to propagate its principles and forward its purposes, must perplex the deepest and most sagacious observers, and overpowers with astonishment men who, living in ordinary times, and reposing in the ease and indolence of civil life, are at a loss to conceive such a sacrifice of self, such a dereliction of personal pleasures and comforts. The Jesuits cheerfully submitted themselves to every labour, and exposed themselves to every hazard, to combat the enemies of Rome in every corner of Europe. Their divines heaped volume upon volume, ran through all the subtleties of casuistry; their statesmen and politicians set at work every engine of intrigue and cabal; their martyrs endured death, and death in its most frightful forms. But Europe was only a small part in the history of their exertions; both the hemispheres witnessed their labours. They erected the cross in Japan and California. Inhospitable deserts, forests of almost impervious intricacy, cannibal nations, in vain offered obstacles to their zeal. No dangers terrified them, no hardships or privations discouraged them; they deemed themselves rewarded if they could sprinkle a few savages with water, and by this ceremony convert them, as they imagined, to Christianity.

South America, in particular, seemed to open a wide field to their exertions. The Spaniards and Portuguese had considerable settlements on the eastern and western sides of the Continent. The immense regions stretching from the Andes to Brazil and the Ocean, are inhabited by tribes of Indians more or less savage, more or less obstinate and sullen, in various degrees addicted to their uncouth forms of superstition and their barbarous manners and government. The Jesuits, not long after the establishment of their order, penetrated among them. Some of them, after surmounting incredible difficulties, perished by the hands of the savages; others, more fortunate, succeeded in persuading the scattered natives to assemble in little communities, and embrace the forms of civilized life, with the profession of Christianity, at least the name of Christians. The effect of their astonishing labours and perseverance was, that in those vast tracts extending from the northernmost branch of the Andes to near the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, where the Spaniards did not possess more than three or four inconsiderable settlements, a number of Indian villages were formed, all connected by a similar plan of society and government, acknowledging the supremacy of the King of Spain, and paying a slender tribute into his coffers. These nations of Indians may be distinguished: The Moxos, situate about the twelfth degree of southern latitude, at the foot of the An-

des, which separate them from Peru; the Chiquitos, several degrees more to the south, whose territory is traversed by three rivers which unite under the name of the Madeira, and fall into the great river Amazon; and, lastly, the Guaranis, wandering on the borders of the Parana and Paraguay, contiguous to the government of Buenos Ayres, and consequently not remote from the Atlantic Ocean. These are the principal nations or assemblages of Indians, over whom was exercised the influence of the Jesuits; but there are wandering tribes in the spaces between them, whom they endeavoured to persuade to join their countrymen. Their persuasions were sometimes listened to; but many of these wild tribes were irreconcileable enemies to the Christian villages, and the missionaries who ventured among them often received the crown of martyrdom at their hands. Nothing, as has been mentioned, could damp the zeal, or abate the spirit, of the Jesuits. As tracts of uncultivated territory lay all around, they were constantly making excursions to add some portion of them to their singular empire. Never were men more eagerly animated by the thirst of conquest. They carried their views sometimes to the north, sometimes to the south. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, a Jesuit of the name of Philip de Laguna travelled two hundred leagues to the east of Chili, reached some tribes of Indians, called Puelches and Poyas,

who wandered over an extent of territory of one hundred leagues to the Straits of Magellan; converted many of them to Christianity, and gave rise to the most sanguine hopes of adding these southern regions to the Missions of Paraguay.

The name of Missions of Paraguay is employed to design generally all those formed under the auspices of the Jesuits in Paraguay and the adjoining provinces. They underwent augmentations and diminutions by the accession of new tribes of Indians, and the defection of some already converted and civilized; this last case indeed seldom occurred.

The Missions were all formed on nearly the same plan, and communicated with each other. To give the greater facility to this communication, to connect the several tribes, as it were, into one nation, and distinguish them from their infidel countrymen, the Jesuits fell upon an expedient which evinces their industry and ingenuity. On their arrival in this part of the New World, they found the several tribes speaking all different rude idioms. From these they were at the pains of selecting that which appeared the most generally diffused; they reduced it under alphabetical characters, enriched it by adoptions from the neighbouring idioms, gave it all the copiousness and convenience it seemed to admit of, formed it into a grammar, and established it as the language of their Missions, which alone was taught in the

school annexed to each, and which they used in their sermons and exhortations.

A Mission had for its head, and, as it were, rallying point, a community distributed into a village or town. The most fruitful and healthy spots were chosen for these villages, and they were all built in a regular and similar form, the streets of one breadth, extending in right lines, and meeting in one central square. Each village had its public buildings appropriated to different uses. The church occupied the most conspicuous situation. The churches were in general handsome buildings, designed with no small taste and skill in architecture by the missionaries, and decorated with paintings and pieces of sculpture, sent as presents by pious Catholics in Europe. Such ornaments were multiplied by the copies which the Indians were instructed to execute, and the copies were often allowed to rival the originals.

Close to the church was the house inhabited by the missionaries, of whom there were two or three in each village. To them were associated six boys, chosen from among the natives; and together they formed a chapter, or religious community, having all their laws appointed with monastic regularity. The young Indians were instructed in church-singing; and whenever divine service was performed, these secluded spots resounded with their pious melody. In every village was a work-

house, or place of confinement for disorderly women; there was likewise an arsenal, replenished with all sorts of weapons in use among the Europeans, provided with a small train of artillery and a proportionable quantity of ammunition. The inhabitants of the village were trained to arms, distributed into companies, and the most intelligent among them chosen as officers. These were distinguished by uniforms decorated with gold lace, and bore in some conspicuous part of their dress a device indicative of the place where they commanded. The evening of every holiday was a time of exercise for these troops, in which they went through a variety of evolutions. There were public schools in which the youth of both sexes received instructions suited to the different degrees of capacity the missionaries observed in them. Some were taught Latin, and the more elegant arts of painting and sculpture; nor were the accomplishments of music and dancing forgotten.

The house of the missionaries was surrounded by shops occupied by different trades and handicrafts; here were to be seen carpenters, weavers, locksmiths, goldsmiths, and watch-makers.

The real government resided in the misionaries, but was in appearance administered by civil officers, distinguished by the names of governors, regidors, alcaldes or judges: these were chosen by the Indians from among themselves, but the choice was not valid unless confirmed by the

missionaries. No difference was decided, no punishment inflicted, without their approbation. In the last instance they, for the most part, executed their own judgment. Capital punishments were unknown among the tribes; the stripes which the most grievous offenders received, came from the hand of the Jesuit, and were preceded by an exhortation or remonstrance. Such was the simplicity of manners, and so strongly imprest were the habits of submission and obedience, that the person punished never failed to confess his transgression when he had been guilty, and submitted without a murmur, even when solicited by a consciousness of his innocence.

To each village was annexed a district, throughout which were distributed families of Indians employed in the labours of the field, raising cattle and other produce for the general consumption, and collecting the vegetable known by the name of the herb of Paraguay, an object of profitable traffic. One of the employments of the missionaries was to visit these families in person, to see they did not intermit their industry, and to attend to their religious wants.

No sort of distinction or inequality had got footing among this people. They were all implicitly subject to their pastors, regarding them in the light of the Divinity, and were persuaded that every thing they said or did was right, and that they never reprimanded or punished without

reason. It was a perfect uniformity of submission and obedience, not interrupted by any of the steps or gradations of more artificial schemes of society. This uniformity and equality would soon have disappeared, had the principle of property been allowed to shoot out according to its natural tendencies, but it was admitted within very narrow limits. A spot of ground was attached to every house, and something like property might obtain with respect to part of its produce; but the great bulk of what the labours of the community produced was brought before the missionaries. There was a public slaughter-house for the cattle; the meat was divided into portions and distributed among the families: all this under the superintendance of the missionary. A similar distribution was made of the other articles the community was in need of. What remained over and above the manufactures which the community did not consume, such parts of the produce as brought great profit in the exportation, as the herb of Paraguay, were sent to Buenos Ayres or some other sea-port town, and there sold by an agent appointed by the missionaries. Out of what was obtained by the sale, a slight tribute was, in the first place, deducted, which all the Indians above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the King of Spain; the remainder was disposed of for the benefit of the Missions, and reconveyed to them in the form of such European commodities as they had occa-

sion for. Ornaments for the churches, or whatever tended to the splendour of public worship and the magnificence of festivals, was regularly procured. Assortments of iron ware and cloths were likewise provided. The use of money was rigorously banished from the whole extent of the Missions. In all the distributions attention was paid to the claims of childhood, of helplessness, and decrepitude.

The missionaries appear to have been particularly anxious for the accomplishment of two objects.

The first was to render their religion and government as striking as possible to the senses of their subjects; hence the regular and elegant structure of their churches, the pomp and solemnity of service, the disposition of the young Indians of both sexes into choirs of music. On festivals all the magistrates appeared in robes of ceremony appropriated to the occasion. The troops made their appearance in their best apparel; fireworks took place, which were supplied by gunpowder manufactured for the purpose by the Indians themselves; their little artillery was drawn out, and the air resounded with joyful discharges. One festival in particular was celebrated in a manner which deserves to be described. To inspire the most profound reverence for the Sacrament of the Altar, a day in the year was set apart devoted to the special purpose of rendering it distinguished

homage. On this day it was carried in splendid procession through the village. Groups of dancers announced its approach; nothing burlesque or lascivious was admitted into these dances, but a sort of pure and chaste festivity pervaded the whole. The Sacrament, adorned with every thing which their little wealth could afford to render it magnificent, passed over flowers and odoriferous herbs strewed in profusion on the ground and under boughs and blossoms twisted into triumphal arches. Birds of the gayest plumage, such as expand their wings under these hot suns, were tied to the arches; but it was contrived that the strings which held them should be nicely concealed, so that they seemed to have come of their own accord to mix their warblings with the hymns and canticles of their fellow-mortals and join in adoration of one common Deity. This concert of praise and devotion was further swelled and deepened by the growlings of lions and tigers, chained at certain distances in such a manner as to be surveyed without danger by the spectators. Large basons of water were likewise seen with various fishes of curious forms and dyes sporting in them. The streets were hung with carpets separated by garlands, festoons, and bundles of foliage disposed and arranged by the simple taste of the female part of the community. From this union of art and nature, this display of simplicity and piety, this concert of the feathered tribes with the

savage animals of the desert, this mixture of leaves, flowers, and water, under a serene sky and resplendent sun, arose a scene as smiling to the fancy and as interesting to the heart as can be well conceived. The spectacle concluded, the different sorts of provisions which had been exhibited in the progress of it were presented by the grateful savages to their spiritual governors, who never failed to send the best part to those whom sickness hindered from partaking in the festivity. The rest were regaled each with a small cup of wine.*

The second object which engaged the attention of the Jesuits was to exclude strangers from the precincts of their dominions. At first the Spaniards were accustomed to seize all the Indians they met with, carry them into slavery, and employ them in the labour of the mines; the Jesuits obtained an edict from the court of Spain, securing the liberty of all those who joined their communities: but this did not satisfy them; they would gladly have shut out all Europeans, and prevented their visits, whether as merchants or travellers. This anxiety on their part was represented by their enemies as the jealous vigilance which guards concealed treasures; but since it has been ascertained that the metallic wealth of those sequestered regions was wholly imaginary, it may be ascribed to a reasonable persuasion, impressed on their minds, that by no other means could the

* Charleroi's History of Paraguay, vol. i. page 286.

principles of their little monastic government be maintained. Accordingly, when a European came among them, he was carefully watched, received with civility and hospitality, but never allowed to wander without the attendance and inspection of some trusty persons, who reconducted him out of the limits of these sacred territories with as little delay as possible.

The Jesuits laboured with the most strenuous zeal to connect the Missions situate among the three nations which have been taken notice of, the Moxos, the Chiquitos, and the Guaranis, by filling the intermediate spaces with kindred tribes; they did not wholly accomplish their scheme, but they were every day approaching nearer to it. They encountered great obstacles, partly from the prejudices of the savages, partly from the unwillingness of the Spaniards to have the field narrowed where they sought for slaves for their mines.

A distinction was observed among these nations. The Chiquitos were easily habituated to industry, and the missionaries who presided over them were supported by their voluntary labours. A plantation was set apart for the purpose, from which the missionaries were abundantly supplied. On the other hand, the Guaranis were of an indolence not easily overcome; the King was obliged to maintain the missionaries among them, and was at the expense of a regular salary.

The missionaries were named, according to the

regulations of their order, by their provincials. The Jesuits had succeeded in almost entirely excluding the interference of the governors and bishops. The Missions of the Guaranis, which were by far the most numerous, were under the immediate superintendance of a superior-general, who represented the character of a provincial, and the nomination of the inferior missionaries emanated from him. His usual residence was in the centre of the Missions, at a village called Candelaria, and he extended his visitations to every part of the district of the Guaranis. This district, in 1734, contained between thirty and thirty-four villages; its whole population was estimated at two hundred thousand persons. This was but a thin population for the territory it covered, and its increase was observed to be very slow; a circumstance of importance in the judgment to be formed of the whole system.

A good deal of rhetoric has been lavished on the system of the Paraguay Missions. The pious, the sincere Christian naturally surveyed it with partial fondness; his heart swelled with joy and delight at the conversion of so many infidel tribes; the whole frame of this religious society was calculated to awaken his sympathy, to excite his praise; such praise came from the heart; but feeble and languid was it, compared with eulogies which flowed from a very different source. Men who hated the Jesuits, who hated Christianity,

descanted with studied eloquence in praise of the Paraguay Missions; this praise cannot easily be accounted for, but as it enabled them to gratify another of their propensities in declamations against property and the distinction of ranks. The sober and dispassionate reasoner, who is called upon to judge, will calmly inquire what was the state of things before the labours of the Jesuits, and what they, in precise truth, accomplished.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the state of things which they succeeded in changing. Whatever miseries a race of wandering savages might be supposed to endure, were increased in a tenfold degree by the tyranny of the Spaniards. Naked and defenceless, they were perpetually the objects of predatory expeditions, and thousands were yearly torn from their native wilds into hopeless captivity; the victims of this remorseless warfare, so separated from every thing that was dear to them, were exercised in the pestilential labours of the mines, condemned to all the drudgery of unfeeling avarice. The Jesuits raised a rampart between the oppressors and oppressed; the savage was reclaimed from his wandering necessitous life; peace smiled upon regions which had been the scene of continued murders and strife; religion raised her temples, and displayed her solemnities; the arts of civilization were practised, the sweets of society tasted; among forests and deserts which had resounded only the yells of barbarous victory

and cruel defeat, were heard the canticles of simple piety, breathed by a decent and orderly array of young persons, and accompanied with musical instruments; the den and the cavern were exchanged for commodious habitations, supplied with every necessary utensil, and many ornamental pieces of furniture, built often of rude materials, such as clay and straw, but uniformly covered with tiles. The bloody fur of the wild beast, slain in the chase or adventurous struggle, gave place to a neat and comely dress. The men were habited in cloth, and wore a pretty kind of sandal on their feet, neatly twisted of a sort of long grass which grows in those parts. The women, in a loose garment adapted to the heat of the climate, disposed their hair in a number of fanciful modes; some allowing it to flow loose over their shoulders, others gathering it in part under a cap, while strings of black beads, with the cross suspended at the end of them, were thrown around their necks.

It is impossible to deny that this change was good; and it follows that the Jesuits were entitled to the gratitude of the New World. But it may be affirmed, at the same time, that man could never expand to his due size under the pressure of their institutions; that they were rather favourable to the little and creeping propensities of his nature; that they reduced the species to a tameness and symmetry which checked its growth both physical and moral.

The times in which this history is penned have exhibited a nation hurried, by the violence and ferment of the vices which rankled in its bosom, from one kind of fanaticism to another; at all times pouring out its blood at every vein, drunk with the rage of innovation, or mad with the lust of conquest; passing from the desolating despotism of mobs to the head-long ravaging ambition of a soldier. Yet this nation, amidst all its excesses and disorders, amidst all the causes of destruction and depopulation, perpetually vexing and fatiguing it, loses nothing of its outward greatness; it is not only secure, but formidable to all its neighbours. Thousands have perished on the scaffold, armies after armies have gone to seek victory and death between the tropics or in the arctic zone, to the north, south, east, and west; yet its visible dimensions continue undiminished: it is perhaps a giant with decayed vitals; but it is a giant still. Compare with such a nation the state of a people where every thing is settled and arranged, where luxury and indigence are alike unknown, where a scheme of minute regulations is contrived to exclude opulence, that would run into vices which consume; and want, the hungry enemy of increase. Yet this people never rises above the standard of a languid sickly body; it is feeble and creeping from its infancy; it expires without a struggle, it lives without glory, and its dissolution scarcely attracts notice. What shall we say? what infe-

rence shall we draw? That our social institutions, the parents of a family of evils, are likewise the parents of our virtues: that *property* is the invigorating principle of the faculties and exertions of man: that he cannot prosper and flourish under the government of monks; never will the hero spring up in him who trembles at the frown of a priest: that minute and exact regulation may produce tranquillity and order; but withal steals away what is necessary to maintain those blessings against external shocks and inroads: that the tameness and monotony which ever accompany it are of more pernicious effect in this view than the worst vices and abuses arising out of less shackled schemes of policy and manners.

The war carried on against the missionaries of South America was scarcely terminated, when the capital of Portugal was almost entirely laid in ruins by one of the most tremendous earthquakes recorded in the history of the world. About half an hour after nine, the 1st of November, 1755, was Lisbon visited by this ever-memorable calamity. The first indication of it was a general tottering of the houses, a tremulous motion in the earth. It being a day of solemn festival, thousands were assembled in the churches. These massive edifices came tumbling down, concentrating death on the multitudes they confined. Such of the inhabitants as could escape into the streets and open places ran about in frantic disorder, crying out

that the end of the world was arrived; bearing crucifixes and images of saints; and, in the absence of all human relief, seeking to engage the heavens in their favour. But the heavens were deaf to their supplications. Whole streets were seen inclining some one way, some another, and then rolling in ruins to the ground; the dust arising from these ruins, which every moment increased, spread like a thick mist over the sky, and the horrors of night enveloped the scene of desolation. This tremendous gloom was soon interrupted by flames, which were scattered on every side, and devoured the little property the earthquake had spared. The tapers burning in the churches, and the fires of the kitchens, which no person was at hand to extinguish, produced this conflagration, which, gathering irresistible force from a strong wind, covered the city with showers of fire like hail, almost blinding with heat and smoke the wretched fugitives from their houses and temples. Here their flight was stopped by prodigious clefts, down which were precipitated whole ranges of edifices with their inhabitants; there the soil they trod on, agitated in quick vibrations, withdrew its support from their trembling feet. The man who, escaping these perils, continued groping his way over heaps of smoking rubbish, which but a few minutes before had been the abode of perhaps happy human beings, stumbled at every step over dead bodies, lying six or seven together, half buried and half

burnt. At every turn his ears were assailed with the despairing shrieks of wretches struggling in cellars and places under ground, without the faintest hope of relief, and frantic at the thought of the lingering death which awaited them.

On the first appearance of the calamity, multitudes had fled to the fields and mountains round the city; many of these were absolutely naked. All regarded their houses and properties as for ever lost; recollections so bitter wrung from them the loudest wailings and lamentations. They stood a picture of unmitigated anguish, gathered in groups under tents or barracks made of canvas or sail-cloth, erected to protect them from the inclemency of the open air. It was more than a fortnight before a return to the scene of their former habitations was at all safe; as during all that time the shocks continued, though with intermitting violence. Still was not extinguished that sentiment which prompts men to cling with dauntless obstinacy about the fruits of their industry, the treasures which they had hoped to keep or enjoy. To rescue some remains of these, more than one adventurer trod back his steps, and committed himself to new hazards. If he succeeded in penetrating to the spot where the object of his search was deposited, he was obliged to dig among heaps of stone and mortar calcined and involved in smoke. Every species of metal was so blackened, that it afterwards came to be specified who-

ther a payment should be made in black or bright coin. The conflagration, which had been at first an accident of the earthquake, had been greatly increased by the efforts of daring wickedness. Men were found, who, unappalled by the spectacle around them, regarded the general confusion only as an opportunity of plunder. French and Spanish deserters, sailors from the ships, galley-slaves who had broken their chains, malefactors vomited forth by the jails, spread themselves in merciless bands, setting fire to those parts of the city which had yet been spared, robbing in the very jaws of death; murdering when resisted, and showing the passions of man will set at defiance all the powers of nature combined for his destruction.—This was an occasion for Carvalho to manifest all his vigour and firmness; even the portion of ferocity which in him blended itself with these valuable qualities, was of use in stemming the disorder. By his directions soldiers were posted at every issue; whoever could not give a good account of the property he carried with him, was hung without further ceremony; gibbets were erected on every side, and the display of three hundred and fifty dead bodies struck every heart with dismay. Severe and rigorous as was this exercise of justice, it was sanctioned by the applause of Europe; still more general was the approbation which attended other measures, of which he was regarded as the prime author. Every precaution was

taken to secure to the unfortunate surviving inhabitants of Lisbon a supply of the necessaries of life. The exportation of grain from the kingdom was stopped, and every kind of provisions admitted duty-free. The public granaries were opened with judgement and economy, all the mills set at work, new butcheries established, and oxen and sheep sent for from all parts. The aqueducts which the calamity had spared were kept in due preservation, while such as received injury were repaired. All these alleviations to their misery the people attributed to the counsels of Carvalho.

Lisbon, which lost between forty and fifty thousand persons by the earthquake, was not the only place which it visited; it was felt in almost every part of Portugal. It shook Oporto, and nearly destroyed Sotuval; nor was it confined to the limits of Portugal. It shot across a portion of the massy peninsula to Seville, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The chasm by which the Mediterranean escapes into the Atlantic could not stop it. It ran under the Straits and carried away whole camps of wandering Arabs. Mequinez disappeared from the face of the earth; the same was nearly the fate of Fez. By a northern and circuitous vibration it extended to the coast of Italy. The alarm was spread from one extremity of Europe to the other. The whole tribe of fanatics, in the midst of this alarm, were busy in propagating their visionary notions, and saw in every circum-

stance some judgment, or mark of divine favour; the protestants in Lisbon were pleased to think they had been particularly excepted, not having lost above thirteen or fourteen out of their whole number.* Men who called themselves philosophers, but were in reality as decided fanatics as the most arrant monks, such as Voltaire and his followers, had their own speculations on the subject favourable to their particular tenets. It may be supposed the catholics were not behind-hand in their claims to the predilection of heaven; they were indeed a little perplexed at first by the circumstance that scarcely a church or convent escaped, and that the multitude who sought them as places of refuge were almost to a man crushed to death: but, after some deliberation, it was resolved that they had been punished for the sins of toleration and liberality to heretics and Jews; but none took so distinguished a part in promulgating this doctrine as the Jesuits. They thought this an admirable opportunity of re-instating themselves in favour at court and supplanting their enemies. They knew the feeble, timid character of the king, and on this knowledge was their plan laid. The first step was to soften and mould his mind to the influence of devotion; a mind so prepared would easily receive any impressions. It being established that the sins of the people had occasioned the earth-

* See Gent. Mag. for February, 1756.

quake, it was not difficult to pass to the further doctrine, that the offences against the Jesuits, and the animosities displayed against their converts in South America, were amongst the most heinous of their sins. The atonement or reparation which would immediately present itself, was discarding and disgracing the authors of those measures which had drawn down the anger of heaven.

There was at this time in Portugal a holy hermit of the name of Malagrida, an Italian, native of the Milanese. He was much celebrated by his party as a saint and prophet; thousands were ready to swear to miracles he had wrought and predictions he had uttered; certain it is his religious exploits were not inconsiderable. He had wandered over a great part of South America, barefooted, with no other sustenance than wild herbs and roots. His body was covered with marks imprinted on it by the teeth and nails of the savages. The late King John, who was not a little attached to *saints*, had distinguished him by marked partiality, and had been induced to perform what were called exercises under his direction; he had likewise been a favourite with his Queen, Mary Anne of Austria. On his return from South America, King Joseph, then Prince of Brazil, had gone out to meet him, and, throwing himself at his feet, implored his blessing. All these circumstances rendered him very proper for the part he was to act; but whether he was excited by genuine zeal, or made use of the

appearances of sanctity for his purpose, was long a matter of dispute. It seems probable his conduct had its root in genuine zeal; however that might be, his exertions were very conspicuous on that occasion; he composed a little treatise in favour of the opinions the Jesuits wished to inculcate, and contrived it should find its way to the King and royal family. His invitations to the exercises were incessant. The King would not long hold out when thus attacked on the side of superstition; the females of the royal family were already his zealous admirers and partisans, so that he hoped, not without some foundation, soon to appear triumphant at the head of the *exercises* in the palace. The object of the good father's proceedings was sufficiently obvious; he wished, however, to cloak and disguise it under a pious turn of sentiment. Being pressed by some of the enemies of the minister to be a party in their designs, he answered in the genuine style of sanctified malice, that he would do nothing but pour out his sighs and groans in secret before the Lord.

Carvalho, the minister aimed at, had occasion for all his skill and ability to ward off the blow; meritorious as his conduct had been at the time of the earthquake, he could not rely upon that alone to preserve his influence. It had made indeed an impression on the King, who could not be entirely deaf to the voice of Europe, and he had been rising in favour ever since. The most important

department of the three secretaries of state, becoming vacant by the death of Don Pedro Motta, he had succeeded to it, and the other two he had got filled with persons he could depend upon; so that he was now not only the chief, but almost sole minister in Portugal. Still his situation, however exalted, was no less perilous, considering the enemies he had united against him, and the wavering, weak mind of his master. He was fortunate enough, however, to avail himself of the weakness for the purposes of his ambition. The King was in constant apprehension of plots and conspiracies to dethrone him, and Carvalho was not remiss in augmenting his apprehensions. He represented to him most of the principal nobility as leagued against his government; their eyes were turned to his brother Don Pedro, and him they were desirous of substituting in his stead. He reminded him of the conspiracy by which his great uncle, King Alphonso, was, in the last century, deprived of his crown by his brother; and suggested, that as this example might operate to encourage guilty designs, so it should on his part inspire wholesome dread, and prompt to useful precaution. The Jesuits and all the fanatical monks were favourers of Don Pedro; their processions, their missions, their sermons, their prophecies, their exercises, all the expedients they made use of to work upon popular credulity, were directed to serve the purposes of his ambition. He himself

was the only safeguard of his crown, the steady champion of his authority, whom therefore his enemies laboured by every artifice to supplant, confident that if they effected his overthrow, the complete success of their machinations would follow soon after. To these representations he added topics adapted to the character he had to direct; he even ventured to encounter the Jesuits on their own chosen ground of *judgments*; he too had attracted the notice of heaven. Nature had been commanded to respect his family and dwelling, and the explosion of subterraneous matter had been so conducted that neither suffered any injury. He pointed out this circumstance to the King. The King was struck, and repeated the observation. A courtier hazarded a remark which shewed the vanity and futility of a system which would infer, from some accidental circumstances, a distribution of good and evil Providence has reserved for another and a better world. Carvalho had not been more fortunate in his house than the strumpets of Lisbon in the street which they inhabited.

These various arts were not without their effect; but in explaining the unlimited power he acquired and retained during the rest of Joseph's reign, we must look for the true solution in that irresistible ascendant which belongs to men of boldness and decision over the pusillanimous and undetermined. So entirely was the King subjugated, that he

almost trembled in his presence. Carvalho, thus enabled to make use of the royal name to execute his own particular views, was not long in discovering what those views were.

The nobility in Portugal had risen to a degree of power equally oppressive to the inferior classes of the community and formidable to the sovereign. He resolved to curtail it; and in the prosecution of this object was not deterred by the resentment, more or less open, of the most powerful families. Much of their power had grown out of the prodigality of successive monarchs, who had alienated the territorial possessions of the crown. He set on foot a rigid scrutiny concerning these alienations, with scarcely any limits of time, and without any distinction of persons. Families were stripped of estates which they had enjoyed for a length of time, and which they were accustomed to consider as their hereditary patrimony. Among other instances of resumption, the island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, was wrested from the Count de la Riveira, whose ancestors had possessed it for more than three centuries, and had spent large sums of money in improving and enriching it. Whether he did not proceed in his design of reducing and humbling the nobles with too much violence; whether his vigour and firmness did not in some cases run into the neighbouring qualities of harshness and obstinacy, is a question which admits of doubt; but

the design itself, in the circumstances of the kingdom, was highly laudable, and proceeded from a strong desire of promoting its advantage, and a right conception of the means by which this was to be accomplished. The nobles, however, who smarted under his reforms, were exasperated almost to fury against him. Their pride and arrogance were wounded in the most sensible manner, when they reflected on the author of their humiliation. He was a man of obscurity in their estimation; they affected to treat him as such, declining all intimacy with him, and representing every visit they paid at his house as an act of condescension in favour of his wife, the Countess Daun. Observing these attempts to vex and mortify him had no effect; that he continued his course undisturbed by these petty manifestations of their anger, they began to turn their thoughts to more serious schemes of hostility and resistance.

The anger, which the nobles were obliged in a great measure to suppress, was uttered with scarcely any caution or restraint by the clergy; the pulpits resounded with sermons levelled at him; and these pious men were near praying for him in the face of their several congregations. He had incurred their displeasure by measures and plans which will not be much disapproved of by the English reader. His first offence was something like an attack on the tribunal of the inqui-

sition. The autos-da-fé he had seemed disposed to abolish, and the bigots were inconsolable at the loss of solemnities in which a number of Jews and heretics were occasionally burnt alive, to their great edification. The judgments of the inquisition were subjected to revision by the sovereign, and were not to be executed till they received his approbation.

He proposed, in the next instance, to grant free toleration to the Jews, as a means of rebuilding and repeopling Lisbon.

The King having no male issue, the marriage of his eldest daughter, the Princess of Brazil, became an object of considerable importance. He suggested the propriety of choosing some foreign prince, without the distinction of religion, and named the Duke of Cumberland, son to the King of England.

While he was thus attacking the higher orders, wounding them in their privileges and emoluments, and offending their prejudices, he provoked no slight animosity in the humbler and trading classes. He erected companies and monopolies, to which he attached the whole commerce of both the Indies and China.

The town of Oporto carried on a very lucrative trade in wines. The cultivators of vineyards in the neighbouring country had grown rich, and they attributed this their increase of fortune to the

liberty which they enjoyed of selling their wines to the highest purchaser without exception. Carvalho established a port-wine company, and shut the market to every competitor till they had completed their purchases. A measure so repugnant to all enlightened principles of policy was represented by his enemies as arising from interested views. It was said that he shared in the profits of the company; but this charge will be rejected by any one who duly considers his character, which was nowise tinged with such a narrow and sordid propensity. What he did was at the instance of the Portuguese merchants, who, envious of the wealth acquired by the English at Oporto, wished to get rid of them altogether, and memorialed the minister for that purpose; representing, that without such an exclusion, they could never hope to derive any profit from the wine trade. The absolute exclusion applied for was deemed inconsistent with subsisting treaties; but the minister, to satisfy them, proceeded as has been related, enacting that no foreigner should be admitted into the newly-erected company. These anti-commercial regulations, however offensive to the interests and irritating to the feelings of individuals, would have been heard of with indifference by the great body of the people, perhaps even would have obtained their approbation. Monopolies and restrictions on trade, in general, are pretty much to the taste of the vulgar; they are sure to be keenly relished

when they favour any national prejudices, or fall in with any speculations of national ambition. To screw out any little present profit, at whatever expense of future consequences; to interrupt some advantage from a rival, or perhaps only to vex and mortify him, though the mortifier gōes more than shares in the injury inflicted, are objects so flattering to the darling passions of the multitude, that they are ever ready to bestow their applause on any one who promises to gratify them in them. It was not, therefore, the company of Oporto, but the measures to support it, that rendered Carvalho so generally obnoxious. The people of the country, as might have been expected, espoused the cause of the proprietors of the vineyards, by whom they had been employed. They flocked to the town in a seditious manner, compelled the chief magistrate, known by the name of the *Judge of the People*, to declare himself against the new company, pillaged the houses of those they suspected to be favourers of the measure, and committed other acts of riot and outrage. No sooner did Carvalho receive intelligence of these popular disturbances, than he let loose the whole weight of his vengeance on the offending town. He sent three regiments against it; distributed them at free quarters on the inhabitants; had the judge of the people dragged through the streets with a halter about his neck by the common hangman; seized on no less than

[redacted] hundred of the persons concerned in the [redacted] eighteen of them were put to death, and the remainder divided between the galleys and prisons. Nor did he stop here: the soldiers were indulged in unbounded licence, and nothing was heard of but the frightful excesses they committed.

In the like manner he discharged more than the severity of justice on every offence. He placed up an iron spike in every town and village. The populace beheld him passing the streets with the deepest hatred, restrained by terror, but only rankling and gathering new virulence in concealment. Thus one sentiment prevaded the highest and lowest orders. Abundance of inflammable matter was scattered in different parts, and nothing was wanting but men to collect it into one train, and then set fire to it, to produce the most violent explosion.

Such men were found in the Jesuits, on whom Carvalho was every day heaping fresh injuries and vexations. It has been seen that from his first accession to power he had declared war against them. He had invaded their patrimony of glory in South America; torn from them their convents, and destroyed the pride of their hearts, the community they had erected even at the price of their blood. Malagrida had been set forward against him soon after the earthquake, and he had been at no small pains to effect his destruction by all the

spiritual engines of exercises, sermons, and prophecies. These, with their great promoter Malagrida himself, had been banished from the capital, and the saint was obliged to hide his head in painful obscurity, in the little town of Setubal. Still the blow was incomplete. The Jesuits were in possession of the function of confessing at the palace, and it was evident what use they might make of this instrument of power. From the first foundation of their order, they had introduced themselves every where as spiritual guides and confessors, and had discovered more than common ambition to occupy this situation among the nobility and great families, and still more particularly in the different courts. That of Lisbon had been one of the first that surrendered to them, and they had successively extended their conquests to almost all the Catholic potentates of Europe. Carvalho was aware, that as long as they were confessors of the King and royal family, where superstition was so prevalent, his situation must remain extremely precarious. He, therefore, employed every topic of argument and representation to dispossess them. To the King he described them as his personal enemies, as intriguers and caballers by system, and revived many antiquated stories of their having betrayed the secrets entrusted to them in confessions. He at length accomplished his purpose; and notwithstanding the tears and resistance of the princesses, all the Jesuit

[illegible] were banished from court. He went [illegible] and this last step seemed to menace the order with entire destruction.

Benedict XIV. who at that time filled the Papal chair, was known to be no friend of theirs; he was very much under the influence of two of their declared enemies, Cardinals Archinto and Passionei. Carvalho, informed of these dispositions at Rome, instructed his cousin, the Commander d'Almada, whom he had appointed ambassador at the Papal court, to obtain a bull of visitation and reform against the Jesuits; and he procured that the execution of it should be entrusted to one of his own partisans, Saldahna, a Portuguese Cardinal. Saldahna proceeded without delay to execute his office of visitor and reformer. His nomination and powers were signified to the Jesuits the 2nd of May, 1758. The day after, Benedict died, and the Jesuits were revived by the prospect of a new Pope; but before this cheering intelligence could reach them, the Cardinal-visitor had begun his operations. He went in great state and pomp to their principal church, seated himself on a lofty throne prepared for him, gave his hand to be kissed by the assembled brethren, and enjoyed the humiliation of those he had devoted to destruction. His next act was to issue a sort of pastoral letter, in which he declared them convicted of having acted as merchants or traders, contrary to the canons of the church, and their

duty as a religious order, and commanded [redacted] deliver in their books, an account of the[redacted] houses and magazines, and the names of their partners and correspondents in different parts of the world. This publication was followed by a mandate from the Archbishop of Lisbon, which deprived them of the faculties of confessing and preaching throughout almost the whole extent of the kingdom; and care was taken that this mandate should run in terms the most galling to them, and most likely to hurt them in the opinion of the people. A gleam of sunshine, however, broke through the black cloud which hung over them. They had the pleasure of hearing that Cardinal Rizzonico had been chosen Pope, the July following, under the name of Clement XIII. They had every reason to suppose him most amicably disposed towards them. They had some time before lost their general, and the place was then filled by Father Lawrence Ricci. Ricci lost no time in presenting a memorial to the new Pope in behalf of his order, complaining of the bull of visitation, and the manner in which it had been executed; but before much effect could be reasonably expected from this step, the enemies of Carvalho, and the Jesuits at their head, had come to a more decisive resolution for the purpose of getting rid of their grievances.

A connection and correspondence of views had long subsisted between them and the King's bro-

ther[illegible] Don Pedro; he was completely the slave of [illegible]ry and the Jesuits, and, equally on the score of [illegible]y and ambition, favoured their machinations, while they, on their side, were intent on making use of him. He openly, and even with affectation, disapproved of Carvalho's measures, and by these means gathered all the discontented round him. Their intrigues and cabals had been so far successful, that he was already designed the husband of the Princess of Brazil. The Dowager Queen, who died in 1754, had been prevailed upon, a little before her death, to express an eager desire for their immediate union. Any difficulty arising from degree of kindred would soon be removed by the court of Rome. It might have been expected that the prospect which such a marriage held out would have satisfied Don Pedro; but either he became impatient of the delays which Carvalho had the art to interpose, or was hurried on by those who conceived themselves interested in his, immediately obtaining possession of the supreme power. Carvalho, justly regarding him as his most inveterate enemy, exerted himself to the utmost to frustrate an event which would place him directly next the throne. He wished besides to strengthen Portugal by some foreign alliance. The nobility and ecclesiastical faction were tired of what they felt an intolerable yoke fastened on their necks. The Jesuits, who formed a principal branch of the latter description, were indeed reli-

gious men; but, among the various precepts of the divine law, their example was not supposed to be particularly illustrative of that which inculcates the forgiveness of injuries. Many were the wars they had waged since the commencement of their career in different countries, but never had their enemies found them slow or backward in revenge. There were certain persons they called Jansenists, and against them, whatever was the provocation they had received, they laboured with a perseverance of enmity which may appear truly astonishing. Not less exasperating certainly was the provocation given by Carvalho, and no less deadly was their enmity. It might seem that Carvalho should have been the person struck at, but Carvalho had inspired his enemies with a degree of terror which even surmounted their animosity. His gigantic stature, his marked countenance, his bodily strength, his matchless intrepidity, the vigour of his mind, deterred them from any attempt upon his life. At least this is one way of accounting why, when a project of assassination was on foot, he was not made the object of it. In confirmation of this supposition, which however rests too much on the marvellous to be easily assented to, an anecdote has reached the historian from respectable authority. The Marquis de Minas, a general in the Portuguese service, actuated by strong resentment against him, resolved to extinguish it in his blood. He approached him

who seated in his carriage for that purpose, but was struck on beholding him that he was unable to proceed further. If the sceptical reader shall reject these circumstances as fabulous, he will perhaps be inclined to believe what many relations assure us was the fact; that Don Pedro, if he did not absolutely prompt, at least pretty decidedly countenanced, the attempt made by the enemies of Carvalho. This was directed against the life of the King his brother, and he alone could have gained much by the removal of a weak, indolent monarch. The destruction of the minister must have satisfied all the other actors in the business. So convinced was Carvalho of his share in the conspiracy, that on the subsequent detection of it, he was very urgent to have him apprehended and brought to trial, and nothing prevented it but the insurmountable aversion of the King. Many of the nobles implicated, whose lives were spared, but who remained in confinement the rest of the reign, declared they had regular correspondence with him during their imprisonment, and might have often effected their escape, had he not dissuaded them, observing that, sooner or later, he must succeed to the throne, and then they were sure of being set at liberty. Yet his name did not appear in any of the judicial proceedings to which the detection of the conspiracy gave rise; and it is remarkable that Baretti the traveller saw him three years after, assisting, in great pomp, along

with Carvalho himself, at a splendid religious solemnity, carried on for the express purpose of returning thanks to God for the King's escape from assassination, in a wooden edifice erected on the very spot where he had been fired at. Strange must have been his sensations had he reflected that he himself had been the principal instigator of the act which gave rise to the commemoration of the day. The persons stigmatized by the judicial proceedings, and who underwent the utmost rigour of justice, were chiefly the Duke d' Aveiro, the Tavora family, and the Jesuits.

The Duke d'Aveiro is described as a man singularly ignorant, of uncommon arrogance, savage in his mind, and uncouth in his appearance. That he should have thought of mounting the throne on the death of the King, is a circumstance so destitute of every colour of probability, that it is impossible to give it the slightest credit, although recited in the charges against him. That, in company with other persons of his rank, he had felt himself deeply injured, is probable enough; he had too a particular grievance of his own. He had enjoyed considerable influence during the latter years of the foregoing reign, by means of his uncle, Father Gaspar da Incarnazao, one of the many priests by whom the old King was surrounded, and to whose homilies he listened with singular relish. The Tavora family seem to have been drawn in by the old Marchioness of that name,

and bigotry and superstition were her principal in-
dulgements. She had been much affected by the
ill-treatment the Jesuits had received, and, from
the time of their expulsion from court, had been
extremely active in their little private councils and
cabals. She had gone to perform exercises under
the direction of Father Malagrida at his retire-
ment of Setubal, and is there said to have been tu-
tored for the purpose in contemplation. Two
other Jesuits, John de Matos and John Alexan-
der, joined Malagrida in assuring her that she
might assassinate without incurring so much as a
venial sin. Her husband and sons were directed by
her influence; and as soon as all these parties were
agreed, subordinate agents procured, and all other
matters arranged, the night of the 3d of Septem-
ber, 1758, was chosen for the attack on the King.
It was known that he was in the habit of paying
nightly visits to the young Marchioness of Tavora,
and jealousy may have stimulated the activity of
the young Marquis, her husband. It was the
King's custom to withdraw into his closet about
eleven o'clock. Carvalho soon after followed
him; the other ministers waiting in the antecham-
ber were dismissed; and while the Queen and
royal family imagined he was transacting impor-
tant business, he descended by a concealed stair-
case, got into a private carriage, accompanied by
a single confidential servant, and in this manner
proceeded upon his pleasurable excursion. The

plan of the conspirators was to place themselves in successive ambuscades along the road, presuming, not without reason, that he must fall by some one of them. The King's escape was certainly lucky, and what his flatterers afterwards proclaimed as providential and miraculous. The Duke d'Aveiro, who was in the first ambuscade, as soon as he saw the carriage advancing, levelled his piece at the coachman. The piece missed fire. The night was not so dark as to prevent the coachman seeing the sparks of the flint; he immediately gave the alarm, and turned back. Two of the Duke's servants, who were placed on the second ambuscade, fired at the back of the carriage as it was hurrying off. The King and his servant, with that familiarity which is often admitted on these occasions, were sitting side by side, and part of the shot entered the fleshy part of the King's arm. He did not immediately return to his palace; but went to the house of a nobleman in the neighbourhood, sent for his surgeon, and had his arm dressed. For a long time after, a good deal of mystery was observed; the King was kept confined in his bedchamber with the shutters closed; no person was admitted but Carvalho and one surgeon. The minister, apprehensive perhaps of an escape, if he discovered his resolution too soon, or employed in collecting evidence, or directed by some other motive, proceeded slowly and with much deliberation. It was only the 13th of December following,

that after introducing several regiments of infantry and cavalry, to provide against the danger of insurrection, or any kind of popular resistance, he had the hotels of the several members of the Tavora family surrounded with soldiers; they were all seized and conducted to the prisons designed for them. The Duke d'Aveiro had withdrawn to a country-house he had at a place called Azcitáo, not far from Lisbon, on the southern side of the Tagus. He was there apprehended, after some attempt at flight, and afterwards at resistance. The prisoners were treated with much hardship: without any regard to their former rank and habits of life, they were confined in narrow cells, which had been inhabited by wild beasts kept as objects of curiosity, till the fear of their getting loose at the time of the earthquake had made it necessary to destroy them. These noble captives had nothing but straw to lie upon. They several times underwent the torture: at length, the 12th of January, 1759, sentence of death was pronounced upon them; all the men were condemned to be broken on the wheel or burnt alive; the only mark of tenderness or commiseration shewn was to inflict on the unfortunate Marchioness the milder punishment of beheading.

The crime of regicide, of which these persons had been guilty, supposing their guilt to have been established by satisfactory evidence, according to the requisite forms of law, or at least of

natural justice, is certainly a crime of the deepest dye, which may involve in its consequences civil war, and a breaking up of the whole frame of society; yet when Europe received the narrative of their sufferings, there was scarcely a heart which did not for a moment forget their offence, and melt into pity and sorrow. How should Englishmen, when they read the account of their agonies, of the shrieks of despair wrung from them by the iron which smote their limbs and crushed their bones—how should they congratulate themselves on their own happy condition, living in a country where Justice, in her angriest mood, never requires to be propitiated by torment, but is satisfied with immediate dissolution and painless death?

The rigorous sentence was executed the day after it was passed. The village of Belim was the scene of the tragedy: it is three miles from Lisbon, between the city and the sea; consisting of one long street and a quay upon the Tagus. In this place, in front of the river, a scaffold had been erected during the night, eighteen feet high. Regiments of infantry and cavalry were posted round the village, and a deep circle of soldiers surrounded the scaffold. Every avenue was crowded with spectators, the river was loaded with boats.

About half an hour after eight in the morning, the execution commenced. The criminals were brought out one by one. First was led forth the Marchioness of Tavora; she was habited in the

same garments as when she had been first apprehended, just risen from bed. She had been eminently beautiful in her youth; she was now pale and emaciated. She walked between two friars, with a steady and composed pace, her eyes fixed upon a crucifix she held in her hand. Her countenance bespoke, if not the serenity of innocence, at least the resignation of religion. She was not, however, so broken by her misfortunes as to forget her former rank, even on the verge of that abyss where all human distinctions perish and are for ever lost. The executioner, in tying her feet, raised a little her under-garments. "Forbear," she exclaimed, "presumptuous man, remember who I am, and respect me even in death." The man dropped on his knees, and implored her forgiveness; the pride of her heart subsided: "take this," loosening a ring from her finger, "this is all I have left of a vain world, take it and do your duty." Her head received the fatal blow, and sunk upon her bosom. The populace were moved, and turned away their eyes wet with tears. Her sons followed in the procession of death. The sweetness and candour imprinted on the faces of these young noblemen awakened the tenderest emotions in every breast; their father came after them. An interval of half an hour elapsed between every execution. The Duke d'Aveiro closed the train of victims. He appeared bareheaded; a circumstance of ignominy intended to mortify his proud spirit. His agonies

and shrieks terrified the multitude. He was in his morning gown, as at the time of his apprehension. It was thought a refinement of cruelty, that the persons executed were allowed on this occasion no other dress than what they had put on in a moment of hurry and surprise. The two servants had been condemned to be burnt alive. One of them had escaped, and his effigy was in his place exhibited; the other was fastened to a gibbet in one of the corners of the machine, and, after witnessing the slow process of the execution, was reduced to ashes along with the scaffold, the wheels, and the other instruments of death. The ashes were scattered into the river. While this awful ceremony was going forward, the palaces and habitations of the sufferers were razed to the ground, and the spots on which they stood were afterwards sown with salt.

Carvalho did not confine his vengeance to this execution, however terrible; it is said he wished to spill more blood, but was stopped by the peremptory declaration of the King that no more should be shed. He certainly pressed to have Don Pedro apprehended and brought to trial. He is reported to have answered those who afterwards reproached him with his proceedings, that if he had done his duty, the streets of Lisbon would have run with the blood of the nobility; a notion agreeable enough to the general hardness and vehemence of his character, but which will

scarcely be sanctioned by a verdict of reason on the comparative value of the objects. Many persons accused of being implicated in the conspiracy were thrown into prisons, where they remained till the death of the King, eighteen years after; even children of tender years suffered in this barbarous manner. Such was the case of the children of the Marquis d'Alvina, married to a Tavora. Three of them under ten years of age were imprisoned with their father and mother. Such likewise was the fate of the Duke d'Aveiro's son, an infant at the time of his imprisonment, and, when released from his confinement, an object to excite compassion.

The conspiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro and the Tavora family has been related nearly in the way in which Carvalho published it to the world, and his partisans wished it to believed; but the historian would not do his duty if he did not preserve the justification of the accused, as well as the charge of the accusers. All the friends and connections of these noble families constantly denied the conspiracy imputed to them. There was indeed some difference in their refutations of the charge. While one party denied the transaction altogether, and treated the entire story as a fabrication of Carvalho, the other divided itself into two sets, who attempted different versions upon it. It was admitted by the first, the young Marquis of Tavora wished to destroy the King, but they maintained it was wholly from jealousy; stung at

the intimacy carried on with his wife. According to the second, the shot was fired at the servant, on the supposition he was alone in the carriage, no intention being harboured against the King. The servant, they say, had mortally offended the Duke d'Aveiro, and the Duke was there to assasinate him.

The author of this work can assure the reader, he spared no pains to procure authentic information on the subject. He is acquainted with many most respectable persons who sifted the transaction on the spot; they indeed are convinced of the reality of the plot; and he is indebted for many of the particulars interwoven into the preceding narrative, more, it is presumed, than have yet appeared before the public, to their communications. What obscurity, what mystery hangs over this portion of history, will be evident by an extract from the letter of a nobleman who, not many years ago, filled the highest diplomatic situation in a neighbouring court, which the author freely makes use of, as it was written with a view to his undertaking. "During my stay in that country, (Portugal), I frequently was in company with men strongly attached to the interests of the Pombal family, as well as with the descendants of the Tavora,-even with some who had themselves suffered in the general proscription. To the questions, however natural for curiosity to propose on these occasions, I never could obtain satisfactory answers.

I believe it indeed next to impossible, for the historian to hope for such authentic documents as might justify his venturing to enlarge on the transactions of that day, enveloped as much in darkness as party prejudice."

On a transaction which still agitates to that degree the passions of men, it will not be amiss to pause a little. If the historian be charged with presumption, his best excuse will be the accuracy and circumspection with which he sums up the arguments on both sides. The first question that occurs is, how was the plot discovered? A considerable interval took place between the perpetration of the deed and the apprehension of the presumed guilty. Carvalho's friends say he was employed in collecting evidence; but where did this evidence come from? The reader will look in vain, for an answer, to the sentence passed on the conspirators, which purports, however, to exhibit the reasons for the condemnation. There is nothing but loose oral tradition on the subject, and this tradition assigns two quarters from which the information came. One of the servants who fired at the King. This report receives some countenance from the circumstance that only one of the servants was executed. The other disappeared, and it is not ascertained what became of him. The French history, entitled *Memoires du Marquis de Pombal*, says he never left Lisbon, but remained concealed there till his death, which

happened in an hospital, in 1782; but as, in some newspapers of the time, it was mentioned he had confessed himself guilty in his dying moments, the author of the *Anecdotes du Ministere*, who is one of the absolute deniers, and a most sturdy bigot, to do him justice, takes fire, and treats the whole story of his stay in Lisbon, and death there, as a contemptible fable; he even goes so far as to express a doubt whether such a person ever existed.

The other person mentioned as having given information is the young Marchioness of Tavora, who received the nightly visits of the King. In the general proscription of her family she was spared, and treated even with consideration and respect. She was alive in 1794, very deaf, without any remains of beauty. She was execrated, and spoken of in the bitterest terms by all the connections of her family, considering her as the informer. If it be believed that the information came from either of these quarters, the reality of the plot will admit of little doubt, at least the fact that the King was fired at; but setting aside what is no more than report, it may be inquired how the matter stands, for or against Carvalho, on the facts that are before the public?

In his favour is the fact, that he survived the King, and consequently his power; that he came under the domination of his inveterate enemy, Don Pedro, husband of the reigning Queen, yet

never suffered for acts which, if executed without foundation, would be crimes to make the blood run cold. There were indeed judicial investigations on his conduct in the transactions in question; but notwithstanding the power of Don Pedro, and the hostile zeal which may be supposed to have animated him, they proceeded slowly and languidly, and led to no result. All the persons who had been condemned were declared innocent; but none of the survivors, as far as the author can learn, had their estates or honours restored to them. The son of the Duke d'Aveiro was treated as a private man, called only Don Martinho by the court, though gratified with the title of Marquis of Gouvea by his connections. He lived upon a small pension allowed to him by the Queen at her accession, never having been suffered to enter on his family possessions.

Carvalho, too, was declared guilty, and deserving of exemplary punishment, but nothing further was attempted. Don Pedro could not extort any thing more rigorous from the Queen, his wife; and she is said to have declared, but this is no more than report, that she would ever look on the conspirators as the assassins of her father.

On the other side, Baretti, writing at Lisbon in 1760, asks, "How did it happen that so execrable a conspiracy should acquire the concurrence of many, when at last it was to be executed by a few? Whence was it, that the dreadful event

should be entrusted with men and women, masters and servants, ecclesiastics and laymen, and not one out of some hundreds should be tempted by hope, impelled by terror, or induced by a better motive, to discover it in time? that such a secret should so faithfully be kept by the whole gang of the conspirators, as not even to be suspected by so wary and suspicious a government?" He concludes, "all this is quite incomprehensible." On the spot, and so near the time, he seems to have more than doubted the alleged conspiracy, and he was evidently not swayed by partiality to the Jesuits or the sufferers, for he speaks in harsh terms of both.

The sentence, assigning the reasons for their condemnation, is far from answering the purpose intended by it. It affords strong presumptions against the justice of the act. A more absurd document was never submitted to the public. It refers to no evidence, it does not give the names of any witnesses, it speaks of confessions made by the persons condemned, but does not specify before whom the confessions were made, or in what circumstances. If extorted by torture, an English reader will think them deserving of very little credit. It is a tradition, that the younger Tavora, a youth not more than twenty-one years old, on being offered his life if he would confess his guilt, resolutely answered it would be too dear a purchase at the price of untruly acknowledging himself a traitor. Those who believe the others confessed,

and insist on this circumstance, should not refuse the heroic denial above mentioned its due weight. Every article in the sentence begins, "It is proved," or "it appears;" whereas in reality nothing like proof appears throughout the whole of it. One of the articles is so absurd as almost to be ludicrous. "It further appears, that even if all the exuberant and conclusive proofs above rehearsed had really been wanting, the presumptions of the law, which condemns the ringleaders, and such others as his Majesty shall be pleased to permit, would amply suffice; for whereas all presumptions of the law are held for so many, every way uncontrollable, proofs, which dispense with the want of every other proof, and lay the person who has them against him under the incumbency of producing other contrary proofs, of such strength and efficacy as may conclusively destroy them; not one only, but many are the presumptions in law, which the said ringleaders of this conspiracy, and principally the criminal, Joseph Mascarenhas, heretofore Duke d'Aveiro, and the perverted members of the society of Jesus, have against them."

"It further appears, in confirmation of the above premises, that whereas the law presumes that he who has been once bad will be always such, in crimes of the same species with that he has already committed; not one, but many have been the iniquities which these two ringleaders have meditated against the august person and most

happy government of our Lord the King, by a series of facts continued from the very commencement of his Majesty's most happy government." *

What will Englishmen say, when they find persons of the first rank and distinction broken alive on the wheel in pursuance of an argument like this. The sentence certainly descends into a number of minute particulars respecting the plot, and rehearses discourses and conversations of the conspirators, which it is hard to suppose invented; but invented they were, in the judgment of the lawyer, since no proof or evidence is alleged in support of them.

On the whole, after perusing this extraordinary paper, it may be safely affirmed, that whether there was a conspiracy or not; whether or not the culprits were substantially guilty, the reasons assigned to the public for their condemnation are insufficient; and therefore, as far as the public has been let into the business, it must disapprove of the proceedings against them: the reality of the plot, considered as an historical question, must remain problematical. Each inquirer will lay a stress on the authorities he has had access to, the reports he has heard, and the arguments he has been accustomed to think conclusive.

In the sentence which has been commented upon, the Jesuits, in a body, were declared the original instigators of the crime. Three were

* See Appendix.

particularly named; the three who have been mentioned as having imparted such comfortable assurances to the old Marchioness of Tavora. All three were seized and thrown into prison the night before the other criminals were informed of their fate. Two seem to have been forgotten. Malagrida had signalized himself too much by his long and pious enmity to the minister not to attract his particular notice. Some months before the attempt on the King's life, he had written to a lady of the palace, requesting she would caution that prince against a danger his life would soon be exposed to. A few days after the apprehension of the Duke d'Aveiro and the others, the minister sent for him, shewed him the letter, and asked him how he came to be informed of any approaching danger. "I had it," said Malagrida, "from a woman I am accustomed to have in confession, and who, I have reason to believe, is often illuminated by revelations from above." It is not known to whom this answer would have been satisfactory; it was nowise so to the person to whom it was addressed. Malagrida had likewise written to his brethren of the order, exhorting them to be of good heart, the term of their persecution was at hand. When questioned upon this circumstance, his reply was equally prompt and saintly; the persuasion he had intimated had proceeded from his firm reliance on the divine goodness; and to

hasten the expected moment, he had been particularly fervent in his exercises at his college.

But vehement as the resentment of Carvalho was against this unfortunate Jesuit, and other individuals of his fraternity, he put off the day of vengeance, and for the present gave all his thoughts to a more important design; he had conceived no less than the expulsion of the whole body from the dominions subject to his administration, and even the entire dissolution of the order. The first object he was able immediately to accomplish; the second required the concurrence of powers independent of his. The death, however, of the Prince he had so entirely subjugated, had not snatched the government from his hands before he saw it effected, and he may be regarded as one of the first impelling causes of this great event.

The history of the Jesuits is one of the most interesting parts of history for a curious reader. This celebrated order, and the republic of Sparta, are examples to shew what the human mind may be brought to; to what a degree the selfish passions, the personal affections, may be extinguished or absorbed in some public interest, in the interest of a body or community. This truth results more evidently, or at least with greater precision, from the history of the Jesuits than of the Spartans. The republic of Sparta is an object

so far removed from our times, the accounts we have of it are so much in the way of rhetorical allusion and illustration, that we seek in vain for those details which can alone satisfy a sceptical reasoner. Not many years are elapsed since the singular institution of the Jesuits expired. It arose in the middle of the sixteenth century; it occupied the two most enlightened centuries of modern history. All the materials requisite to enable us to form an accurate judgment are abundantly supplied by the writers of that period; we have an opportunity of comparing the narratives of friends and enemies. We are in possession not only of those bulky facts which are calculated to strike the imagination, and which alone are to be found in the oratorical descriptions of Sparta, but of those minute and ignoble circumstances which go much further to establish an accurate inference. The spectacle which the Jesuits exhibit, is of twenty thousand individuals* arrived at the years of manhood, of different countries, tempers, talents, produced by different ranks in society,

* The number of the Jesuits never exceeded twenty thousand. In 1710, when the order was in the most flourishing circumstances it ever attained, they were reckoned to have twenty-four professed houses, fifty-nine houses of probation, three hundred and forty places of residence, six hundred and twenty colleges, two hundred missions, one hundred and fifty-seven seminaries, and to have been in number, including all descriptions, nineteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight individuals. *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus.*

dispersed over the four quarters of the globe; all, with very few exceptions, animated by one spirit, forgetting their interests and pleasures as private men, to promote the interest and honour of the body, which could have no hold on their imaginations, as belonging to a particular country or nation, as connected with their ancestors or families, as recommended by any of the tender affections of nature or charities of life. For the sake of this body, which could be little more than a name to many of them, we see them enduring every hardship, submitting to every humiliation, braving death itself; nor is this a body tricked out with military success and glory, crowned by conquests, celebrated by fame. It is a body of an humble religious character, for a considerable time before its extinction not a little stigmatised by public opinion. The individuals composing it entertained little esteem or regard for each other; frequently nourished in a high degree sentiments of mutual hatred and contempt. · It was a maxim with the Jesuits to discourage the mild influence of friendship and intimacy. Nor was this regard and esteem, for which the human heart seems naturally to pant, often paid to them by the body which had imposed on them so many sacrifices. It was customary, in the policy which governed it, to inflict the most injurious treatment on its most distinguished members; and it was observed, that the old, and those broken by maladies and hard-

ships, were for the most part allowed to languish in extreme neglect. Nor was the obligation mutual between the individuals and the body. The individuals were irrevocably bound to the body; the tie was twisted with every fibre of their hearts; all the solemnities, all the terrors of religion were employed to enforce the observance of the vows they pronounced; death only could dissolve the engagement. Whatever had been the vicissitudes of life, or the mutations of fortune, at any period, in any circumstances, could the individual be claimed by the body, torn from his new connections, and compelled to reassume a state from which perhaps he had been expelled; for the body was not, in return, under any obligation. It might at any time expel any of its members without assigning a cause, without affording any provision to the expelled member, although perhaps he had brought a fortune to the body. This state of things may appear utterly inexplicable; it leads only to one conclusion, which was suggested at the beginning of this digression: That there is no form which the human mind may not be made to assume; no bent which may not be given to it: that the selfish passions, which appear so stubborn and tenacious, are however capable of innumerable modifications, and may run out in channels in which they seem to lose themselves.

A scheme of things producing such wonderful effects, it might have been thought, was planned by

the most refined cunning and subtile contrivance, or at least was set in motion in a rude, simple age, operating upon minds on which manners, customs, the institutions of a complicated society, had not impressed a character; it did not struggle at its origin and the first part of its progress with all the impediments which opinion, the direct opposition of some governments, and the forms of all civilization, could throw in its way. Here again history contradicts what an uninformed, though acute reasoner might suppose. It was in 1540 that the order of the Jesuits was fully established by Pope Paul III. These were not times of simplicity and ignorance. Already the reformation had separated whole kingdoms and nations from the communion of Rome. Many years had elapsed since literature had revived; and though, as Dr. Johnson observes, the first men of letters after the revival, were rather employed in learning how to speak than think, yet even then a considerable strength and liberty of thought had been exerted. Erasmus had treated the most important, even religious subjects, with polite raillery and a strong mixture of scepticism. The Jesuits had not long made their appearance when Montaigne, in the retirement of his country-seat, indulged this vein of doubting and laughing philosophy in the boldest and most agreeable turns. The founder of the order was Ignatius Loyola, a man whom the Catholic Church has enrolled in the number

of her saints, and whose character must appear to every fair examiner, however indisposed to regard him with fondness or partiality, untainted by artifice or duplicity, overflowing with enthusiastic piety and ardent zeal. This will be evident by a short account of his life and proceedings.

Ignatius Loyola was a gentleman of Biscay, attached in the early part of his life to the profession of arms. Having received a severe wound in his leg at the siege of the citadel of Pampeluna by the French in 1521, he was obliged to submit to a long confinement for its cure. To amuse himself, he asked for a romance; but no other book offered itself in the place but some lives of saints. The exploits of St. Dominick and St. Francis so inflamed his brain, that he determined to consecrate his life to a similar course of enterprises. One night he jumped out of his bed, threw himself on his knees before an image of the Virgin Mary, and engaged himself by a regular vow to become her knight. One is led to think that the incomparable Cervantes, in framing afterwards the adventures of his hero, Don Quixote, had a view to this incident. No sooner had Ignatius recovered, than, in prosecution of his vow, he set out for our Lady of Monserrat, in Catalonia. Being arrived there, he proceeded according to the laws and ceremonials of chivalry; he hung up the arms and accoutrements he had brought with him at the altar of the Virgin, and watched the

whole night in a whimsical apparel he fancied to be her proper livery. After this he went to Manresa, where he practised all sorts of mortification, begging alms from door to door, fasting six days in the week, and inflicting on himself the discipline three times a day. In this manner he spent a whole year. He next undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and visited Jerusalem. On his return to Europe, it is probable some great design began to ferment in his brain. It was then he bethought himself for the first time, that it would be proper for him, before he went farther, to get himself taught the first rudiments of the Latin tongue, of which he was then ignorant. Accordingly, for this purpose, he travelled about Spain, but not so occupied by his grammar as to abandon his custom of preaching in all places, and every where gathering round him disciples. This disposition, accompanied by his appearance of a beggar, and the number of other beggars who every where thronged about him, marvellously delighted by his devout practices, brought him under the cognizance of the inquisition; and a saint, and the founder of a renowned order, might have been intercepted in the middle of his career. He found means to escape from this persecution, and arrived in Paris the beginning of 1528. It was at this period he evinced, that a real elevation of mind, destined to command, may frequently lie concealed under circumstances which, to the multitude of

observers, indicate something like derangement of the intellectuals. Though still in the mean condition of a beggar, no further advanced in letters than a mere schoolboy, by some undescribable ascendant belonging to his character, he in a short time reckoned in the number of his followers and disciples, masters and professors, men of a high rank in life, eminent in their respective colleges. It is related that as he still went on preaching, exhorting, drawing away the scholars from their books, by different religious ceremonials he practised among them, he incurred the indignation of his rector, who determined to punish him by a public whipping. No sooner, however, had he heard him than he fell at his feet, imploring his forgiveness. It was in the Church of Montmartre, the 15th of August, 1534, that Ignatius and his most zealous associates, to the number of seven in all, united themselves by a solemn vow, pronounced at the foot of the altar, and accompanied by the most sacred rites of religion. From this act the Jesuits were accustomed to date the origin of their order. After much wandering, Ignatius and his companions arrived at Rome; the number was considerably increased. Mixing some degree of worldly prudence with their fervent piety, they contrived to get their association approved of by the Pope, at that time Paul III. and they were formed into a regular order in 1540.

In this sketch of the life of the founder of the

Jesuits previous to the institution, the reader will have seen few marks of sly circumventing intrigue, of deep Machiavelian wisdom, or sober calculating prudence: yet it should seem that to him must be attributed all the principal circumstances which at any time distinguished the Jesuits from other religious fraternities. His successors, the most renowned for policy, did little more than add somewhat to his plan: he erected the pillars on which the greatness of the order arose. Guided by the notions of a soldier, he established an absolute monarchy; he excluded almost entirely the interference of the community, and concentered every power in a chief, who was denominated the general. He likewise introduced a particular vow of obedience to the Pope; this, it is said, did not form a part of his original design, but was contrived to gain the Papal approbation, which was for a time delayed; it, however, coincided very well with his zeal against heresy, which was the first mover of the whole plan. This zeal determined the object of the institution, and a view of the object naturally suggested the means. The object being to multiply proselytes to the Catholic faith, it followed as a consequence, that the Jesuits should endeavour to get possession of all the channels through which instruction is conveyed to the people; that they should aim at directing the business of education; that they should be indefatigable in preaching and confessing; that they

should labour to introduce themselves where their influence would be the most efficacious—at the courts of sovereigns, and among the higher orders of society in all countries. For this purpose they should not be embarrassed by that long train of ceremonies and austerities and forms of devotion which are the chief employment of other monks. They should not interpret too strictly the vow of poverty which they pronounced; but as riches, in this corrupt world, are means of gaining and extending influence, the acquisition of them, as far as it referred to the body, should not be declined. Thus the whole policy of the Jesuits seems to proceed, by an easy deduction, from the principle which gave rise to the establishment and the object they had in view. This policy became a spirit which animated the body, and which was transmitted from one generation to another. Who precisely were the depositaries, to whom the preservation of this spirit was entrusted, cannot be pointed out; but this spirit, so preserved, was the sovereign of the order. They, in most times, availed themselves of the power of the Popes, and were fond of celebrating their infallibility and exalting their prerogatives; but when some individuals on the Papal chair opposed themselves to the spirit which guided them, and the views they carried forward, they always found some distinction to escape from the obligation of unlimited

obedience and absolute acquiescence. In the progress of their history, they had two or three generals who did not seem to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the order; and notwithstanding the powers vested in them by the constitution, they experienced no slender opposition and resistance. It is a mistake of all writers who have treated the subject of the Jesuits, and among the rest of our Robertson, to represent the general as omnipotent, without adverting to any limitation or exception arising out of the spirit of the order: that, however, such a limitation or exception really existed, and might be forthcoming on occasion, appeared in the case of Thyrsis Gonzales, who died general in the beginning of the eighteenth century. He laboured to propagate some theological opinions hostile to those the Jesuits had adopted as a body, and nothing but his death prevented his formal deposition.

Ignatius, before he closed his eyes, had the satisfaction of seeing the spirit of his order in a great measure formed. His disciples had spread over the whole world, penetrated the most remote regions, formed numerous establishments in different parts of Europe, and enjoyed honours and distinctions even in Japan. They, however, had obstacles to encounter and opposition to surmount. As they set out with the views and spirit of conquerors, it happened to them as it has done to

many conquerors; they prevailed in a variety of struggles, achieved splendid victories, and were finally overthrown.

Their whole history is one continued warfare. They had scarcely commenced their operations in Catholic Europe, when, pretending to exercise the functions of preaching and confessing, and in general all ecclesiastical functions, on the authority of bulls they had obtained from the see of Rome for that purpose, without the permission of the particular diocesans, they incurred the resentment of a number of prelates, who in their anger did not hesitate to condemn the whole institution, and pronounce it a dangerous innovation. When they sought to establish themselves in France, they met with a vigorous opposition from the parliaments; and these bodies of men, who were destined to be principal instruments in their destruction, were the enemies of their infancy, and first steps towards aggrandisement. This uninterrupted hostility arose, in a great measure, from the different political character and leaning impressed upon them from those of the Jesuits. The parliaments were animated by a considerable portion of popular spirit, and inclined much in favour of popular principles. The general bent and tendency of the order of the Jesuits was, on the contrary, to support the authority of Kings. They were, however, towards the close of the sixteenth century, thrown out of this their ordinary march by a passion which was ever

paramount in these monks, hatred of heresy, and the ambition to stop its progress. This, during the troubles which broke out in France at this period, carried them into the most violent extremes against a heretic claimant of the crown, and, according to the progress of the human passions, drove them into principles, republican even to a degree of fanaticism. Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit, published a treatise, which, for the matter and style, might have come from the pen of Cato. He establishes, as the foundation of his reasonings, the doctrine, that all government is derived from the people, in whom a paramount authority constantly resides; he employs two whole chapters in support of this opinion: from hence he descends by a chain of argument, which one of the acutest logicians * that ever existed seems to think well deduced, the principles of popular origin and controul being admitted, to the right of putting Kings to death, and even committing private assassination on them. As soon, however, as the ferment of the struggle had subsided, the Jesuits returned to the character most agreeable to the genius of their institution: they sheltered themselves under the protection of the King, and in return were the most zealous champions of the kingly name; this the enemies of both sufficiently recognised, and their destruction was one of the first levers planted under the throne.

* Bayle.

It was after the death of their founder that was laid the origin of that controversy which accompanied them, in one form or other, as long as they existed, which was one of the causes of their fall, and which has probably survived them. Laynez, who succeeded Ignatius in the generalship, and Salmeron, who had been one of his first companions, and who possessed great influence in the order, formed the design of engrafting upon it a particular set of opinions, relating to the freedom of human action and the operations of divine grace. It would be curious to know by what principle they were guided in this determination. Laynez has left the character of a great politician. Though he submitted to the ascendant of Ignatius, was among those who enlisted themselves under his banner at Paris, and never departed from the strictest obedience and submission while he lived; yet no sooner had the saint closed his eyes, than he discovered his ambition, and set at work all the arts of intrigue to be named his successor. If, in adopting the side he did in the controversy concerning divine grace, he was directed by a course of reflection, and not governed by the accidental circumstances of a theologian, his mind must have borne no ordinary stamp. All the controversies about grace which have agitated Christianity since its foundation, and which, under another name, were not unknown to the philosophers of antiquity, turn upon a problem which

seems to admit of no solution: *How* to reconcile the freedom of the human will, and consequently our notions of justice in punishing and rewarding actions, with the attributes of an omniscient and omnipotent being. In vain the invention has been tortured for subtleties; systems and suppositions, without number, have been devised to fasten a chain between the two sides of the question. The pressure of logic has always driven the disputant to one side or the other; and it may be guessed where he will be at the end of the controversy, when it is known what the leaning and tendency of his march is at setting out. Of the two sides there is no doubt, that which is least repugnant to reason, and most soothing to the human mind, is that which favours the liberty of man; but a Christian cannot forget the attributes of the Supreme Being, and he must manage, to the best advantage, a set of words without meaning. Words without meaning, however, satisfy the multitude, and the chance of a doctrine's becoming popular, is not as it is logical, but as it falls in with the genius of a particular religion, and coincides with certain dispositions and propensities in those to whom it is addressed.

The other side of the question, which, insisting upon prescience and omnipotence, necessarily takes away all real freedom from the human will, is strong in logic, but tremendous to the imagination and shocking to the feelings. It is particu-

larly repugnant to the genius of the Catholic religion, which is of a soft, timid complexion. The maintainers of this doctrine have indeed a concise answer to all objections: That it is a mystery. A mystery! Very well; but it is not a soothing, comfortable absurdity, which lulls the devout mind into an agreeable repose.

Perhaps Laynez discerned this circumstance; certain it is, he and his companion, Salmeron, directed their opinions to the contrary extreme at the Council of Trent; and some time after, Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, publishing a regular treatise in support of their doctrine, their system of theology became that of the order, who received in consequence the name of *Molinists*. There was no small clamour against them. The Dominican friars signalized themselves by the vehemence and loudness of their opposition; they accused the Jesuits of being infected with the heresy of a certain Pelagius, an heresiarch of the fourth century. They quoted St. Paul, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin, and perhaps they quoted them right. These great saints lived in the juvenile vigour and warmth of Christianity; much of this juvenile vigour was now diluted by time. The robust genius of fanaticism had sunk, wherever the Catholic religion prevailed, into a tamer and milder spirit, and the opinions of the Jesuits were more in season. The Dominicans laid great stress on the authority of one of their own saints and theo-

logians, St. Thomas Aquinas, and were thence denominated *Thomists*. Their adversaries could not except against the authorities they relied on, but were obliged to shelter themselves behind scholastic distinctions: these distinctions satisfied the Popes, and a sort of truce or treaty of peace was concluded between the parties. They were to agree in repeating certain words, each being at liberty to construe them, in its own particular sense, among its friends and followers. To these opinions on the subject of grace, the Jesuits added a system of morals, which, considered as a piece of reasoning on a point the most interesting to mankind, was the height of absurdity; which, in substance and in its result, by means of a few absurd phrases, confounded all distinctions between right and wrong, and gave free scope to every passion and propensity. The casuists who maintained this system of morals, if it can be so called, were not all Jesuits. Escobar, the name best known among them, was indeed one, and, like Molina, a native of Spain; he died in extreme old age in 1669; but there were others, such as Caramuel, who did not belong to the order. The Jesuits, however, espoused the system with extraordinary warmth, and continued to adhere to it as late as the first part of the last century. In this they did not evince that discernment and sagacity for which they have been so celebrated; by so doing they laid themselves open to the attacks of

their enemies, and upon a question which, intelligible and interesting to every one, did not admit of a retreat under cover of a number of mysterious words. They alienated all the grave and sober part of the community—the really pious—the whole tribe of old devotees of both sexes. They could not hope to gain over the libertine, the man of the world. A young fellow going to amuse himself with a pretty girl never thinks of taking down a folio volume of crabbed Latin. It is a truth confirmed by the history of all ages, that however viciously inclined the multitude may appear to be, they eagerly receive doctrines the most hard and austere, professing the least indulgence for their passions. Doctrines with this rugged forehead, treating them with unqualified violence and despotism, they are disposed to think descending from a superior order of beings. There are certain indulgences which too clearly disclose the man. The most extraordinary circumstance perhaps in the history of Mahomet, and what a comprehensive thinker is most puzzled to account for, is, that the daily witnesses of his more than human frailty could, notwithstanding, have been persuaded to believe him a prophet, a man in immediate communication with the Deity.

The controversy about grace seemed to be in some measure at rest by the peace concluded with the Dominicans, when the Jesuits thought proper to revive it, and pursued it ever after with unre-

mitting acrimony and obstinacy. A certain Cornelius Jansenius, a Dutchman, died Bishop of Ypres in 1638. After his death appeared a dull heavy treatise of his, in bad Latin, on the doctrine of grace, supposed to be contained in the works of St. Augustin. The persevering Dutchman employed twenty years in the composition of this treatise, and had read thirty times over whatever St. Augustin had written on the subject. Strange, if, after this, he should have mistaken his meaning. Jansenius, in the early part of his life, had been at Paris, and had there contracted a great intimacy with l'Abbé St. Cyran. St. Cyran was a dignitary of the French church, distinguished for zealous piety and extensive learning. He had established a seminary at Port Royal near Paris, where was educated the celebrated Arnauld. He was likewise director of a convent of nuns in the same place, over which presided a sister of Arnauld. There were several others of the family of Arnauld in this convent; and, in brief, a close connection was established between Jansenius, St. Cyran, and the Arnaulds. The name of Arnauld was odious to the Jesuits. The father, a famous lawyer, had distinguished himself by a pleading against them, which had attracted much attention: the son, by his theological studies and learning; the sisters, by the fervours of their devotion, and the reputation of sanctity they had acquired, seemed to aim at supplanting them in the very point where they

placed their chief pride, exercising an unrivalled influence over religious opinions, directing the whole body of devotees, having all the young and pious in entire subjection to them. They eagerly seized on the treatise of Jansenius as an excellent opportunity of manifesting their resentment and securing their triumph. Jansenius had published some writings censuring the alliance of the French with the heretics in Germany, which had given considerable offence to the French court. Any thing therefore which tended to stigmatize his name was likely to be well received at Paris by the ministers and courtiers. It was easy to show that Jansenius, in fact, in logical result, destroyed the freedom of the human will. Whoever espouses his side of the argument must necessarily do so. The little palliatives made use of are mere words. Jansenius and his followers did not in reality differ from Calvin, only Calvin disdained all subterfuges, and fairly and openly exposed his doctrine. It comes at last to this—that the greater part of mankind are created to be damned—that the man against whom this decree is pronounced, cannot possibly escape eternal torments. The Jansenists did not, in argument, admit this conclusion; but they were too good logicians not to discern, darkly perhaps, that it followed from their opinions. They were not frightened. They were men of robust minds and rigid morals. There was something which inspired horror about many

of them. Their prodigious parts and learning, their austere and inflexible virtue, their tremendous doctrines, cannot be surveyed without something like a recoil of thought. They have been truly called the *fanatics* of the Catholic religion. Their success was not extensive or brilliant; it could not be so in the circle in which they moved. Their genius did not coalesce with that of their age, or country, or religion. They, however, laid fast hold of some gloomy imaginations, in which they deposited the seeds of their doctrines never to be eradicated. They had the honour of producing one of the prodigies of literary history, in the person of Pascal. It was soon after the origin of the controversy which the Jesuits had provoked, that they received the exemplary chastisement at his hands which will never be forgotten. His *Provincial Letters* will be read as long as there is a grain of taste in the world.

Pascal was only thirty-nine years old at the time of his death. The whole of this short life was spent in the gloom and austerity of a cloister. He lived entirely secluded from the world, consuming himself in mortifications and penances. Whenever he turned from the contemplation of eternity, which he must have surveyed with peculiar terrors, arising from the nature of his theological opinions, it was to the hard and crabbed study of the mathematics. This life of solitude and application so preyed at last upon his nerves, that before he

sunk into an untimely grave, he fancied an abyss was open on one side of him. He thought he saw the abode of those eternally condemned. Yet was he the author of a work which, for elegance of style, politeness of raillery, gentlemanly wit, stands unrivalled in the list of satirical compositions. It is a work, of which it has been said, that Bossuet might have studied it for its eloquence, and Moliere for its humour. Remote from the elegant and the gay, he caught all their elegance and gaiety. Never did the most refined courtier rally with the grace he has done. He vivified and animated the coldest and most unpromising subject. The language, which at that time was imperfect, he at once brought to perfection.

But though the Jesuits severely smarted under his lash, they found means to counteract the effects of his satire by the arts of intrigue. Lewis XIV. a prince of showy accomplishments, but of no strength or vigour of understanding, a great actor of royalty, but not a great King, had been brought up by his mother in habits of the most superstitious reverence for the Papal See. The name of heretic was sufficient to destroy any one in his opinion. This the Jesuits succeeded in fixing upon the Jansenists; and by so doing they gained every thing. They likewise led the King to regard them as a set of republicans, enemies to the monarchy. They certainly were not so at the beginning; as, for example, Pascal, whose hatred to

rebels was almost the only human emotion he seems to have indulged. He regarded, we are told, the royal authority, not only as an image of the divine power, but as a participation of it; it could not be resisted without a sort of sacrilege. He would as soon think of robbing on the high-way, and murdering the travellers, as doing so.* His followers, the persons who were denominated Jansenists, long valued themselves on their strict adherence to the opinions which condemn all manner of resistance to regal authority.† Yet it is probable that these men, soured and exasperated by persecution, became at last what their enemies represented them to be. The spirit of Jansenism was, at a subsequent period, one of the angry passions which conspired to overturn the throne; but though nothing of this kind was to have been apprehended at the time referred to, the Jesuits took advantage of the feebleness and prejudices of Lewis. They were constantly urging the persecution of heretics, persuading him it was a means of atoning for all his transgressions in morality, for his licentious loves, and the dissoluteness of his court. He was walking, they said, in the footsteps of the great Constantine and Theodosius. They had got possession of the office of confessor to the monarch, and their system became that of

* Pascal's Life by his Sister, in Bayle.

† Bayle, art. Pascal.

the government. Protestants were every where harrassed; they were at length deprived of the benefit of the edict of Nantz, by which Henry IV. had secured to them a legal establishment in his kingdom. France lost great part of its most useful population. The Jesuits were not stopped by any suggestion of human policy; and the rage of persecution being let loose, the Jansenists, as might have been expected, were involved in it. The poor convent of nuns at Port Royal, these implacable fathers had long viewed with eyes of peculiar animosity. They revenged on those harmless virgins the wrongs of Arnauld, Pascal, Nichole, and all the eminent theologians and men of learning who appeared to befriend them. After multiplied vexations, it was resolved entirely to destroy the convent. The night between the 28th and 29th of October, 1711, was chosen for this purpose. It was surrounded by a party of soldiers, as if it had been a house of ill fame. The nuns were taken out, and sent under an escort of horse to different monasteries. The edifice they had inhabited was razed to the ground, and the spot it had occupied, ploughed up and sown.

Such violent and outrageous conduct excited vehement murmurs against the Jesuits; but the hatred they provoked, became little short of fury, and pervaded all ranks in France, in consequence of a bull, called the bull *unigenitus*, they contrived to obtain, or rather extort, from the court of

Rome. The history of this famous bull is shortly this. A Jesuit, of the name of Le Tellier, had become confessor to the King, a man of a violence and impetuosity of character approaching to madness. In the course of the persecution to which the Jansenists had been exposed, their great leader, Arnauld, had been obliged to fly the kingdom. He had been accompanied in his flight by a good priest, Father Quesnel, in whose arms he expired. This Quesnel published some tracts of piety, which many Bishops, particularly Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, publicly commended; the Pope, too, Clement XI. was said to have expressed no slender approbation of them: this was sufficient to excite the Jesuits against Quesnel. A man who had been connected with Arnauld, recommending himself to the prelacy, and even to the Pope, by devout compositions—it was not to be borne; besides, they hated Noailles. Le Tellier, the confessor, who carried the spirit and zeal of a Jesuit beyond all bounds, formed the plan of ruining Quesnel and his patron Noailles. He had to struggle with the reluctance of the Pope, who admired Quesnel; but at length the Pope, unable to resist the importunities of the persons set about him for the purpose, after shedding abundance of tears, subscribed the bull *unigenitus*, in which a hundred and one propositions, extracted from Quesnel, were formally condemned. No sooner had the bull reached France,

than the whole kingdom was thrown into combustion; the parliaments refused to register it; the Bishops were divided into parties. Never did polemical anger and bitterness rage to such a degree. The old King was almost distracted; he exerted his authority every way without effect; peace and harmony, public and private, were destroyed; the Bastile and other prisons were crowded; common discretion, and even common sense, appeared to have deserted the Jesuits. The vexatious harrassing persecution they pushed forward, not only was the cause of their own destruction, but was one of the principal causes of the destruction of the monarchy. It is related that they were induced to stir up this ferment in order to divert the public attention from a controversy in which they were engaged by the conduct of their missionaries in China. These missionaries had proceeded in a manner which mere human reason is more disposed to applaud than condemn. In order to facilitate their progress among the Chinese, to win them over insensibly to Christianity, they had connived at a coalition of many of their ancient rites with the religion they preached. They allowed a favourite Chinese inscription, "*adore the heavens,*" to appear in their churches. They did not oppose a certain worship paid by that people to their ancestors and to their great philosopher and lawgiver, Confucius. The ceremonies they observed in their burials, and

which were connected, at least remotely, with idolatry, they deemed it expedient to indulge them in. Their enemies had raised a clamour against what they called criminal remissness on their part; and it would have been quite repugnant to the general system of the order to appeal to human reason in the controversy. Cardinal Tournon had been sent from Rome to China, to examine the state of things on the spot, and his opinions had been unfavourable to them. Tournon had died in prison, not without a strong suspicion that his imprisonment had been ordered by the court of Pekin at their instance, and by the effect of their influence and persuasion. This report their enemies zealously propagated. It had penetrated the walls of the Vatican. Clement XI. seemed disposed to believe it. He had strongly approved of the conduct of Tournon, and it was not known to what measures he might have been carried by his resentment against the supposed authors of his death. In such circumstances it will perhaps be believed, that the Jesuits had created the diversion in question from the motive referred to. Le Tellier, the principal manager in the business, had written a book in support of the opinions maintained by his order on the subject of the Chinese ceremonies; but whatever was the reason, or policy, or passions, which set France in a flame at the end of the reign of Lewis, the power which had kindled it expired with his life. Immediately

on his death, all who had been confined by reason of the bull were liberated. The numbers that issued from their prisons, the hardships of confinement they recounted, violently excited the minds of the people against the authority by which such severities had been exercised. Under the licentious, inconsiderate regency which succeeded Lewis, arose that party or set of men who were destined to tear in pieces the texture of society in Europe.

Never were times more dissolute than those of Lewis XIV. Never prince abandoned himself more to his passions. During the greater part of his reign, he had a regular, known mistress, besides what episodes a splendid and luxurious court supplied; but the dissoluteness of his reign preserved a peculiar character. It contracted an extraordinary alliance with religion. The women most devoted to pleasure were at the same time zealous devotees; and perhaps this union was not a little relished by the refined voluptuary. Sensuality acquired a softness, a decency, a kind of unction, which rendered it more exquisite. The most determined libertine never thought of throwing off the restraints of religion, but borrowed from it a mysterious veil, which, while it seemed to hide, increased the allurements of pleasure. Neither had literature manifested any leaning to infidelity; the most distinguished men of letters were likewise distinguished, many of them, by sincere

and zealous piety; and those to whom piety was irksome and licentiousness agreeable, abandoned themselves rather to a kind of taste and indolent propensity, than to any thing which might be called system. They delivered to the generations that were to come after them master-pieces of invention and composition, but had nothing of the humour of philosophising and dogmatising. The traces of infidelity, in those times, are but faint, and confined to a few individuals. Montaigne, in the preceding century, had scattered much loose scepticism in his Essays; it had tinged the minds of a few, but never formed any thing like a party. Ninon de Lenclos was an agreeable rake, as well as a celebrated beauty; as she was free in her conduct, her opinions were likewise unshackled. Montaigne had been her favourite author from her youth, and she thought like Montaigne. Her thoughts, however, never went beyond some occasional sallies, animating, perhaps, her conversation with a select number of intimates: different from the females who appeared at a subsequent period, she no wise coveted the name or honours of the patroness of a school or association. She lived in habits of intimacy with Madame de Maintenon and the devotees, and testified on all occasions a decent respect and regard for the religion of her country. Madame de Grignan, Madame de Sevigné's daughter, is mentioned as having breathed great freedom of opinion through-

out her letters, which, for that reason, have been intercepted from us. Some pious person, into whose hands they fell, apprehending their dangerous tendency, committed them to the flames,* and in this manner they have been for ever lost. Among the master writers, *le bon La Fontaine*, a name given to him to express the ease, simplicity, and a sort of effusion belonging to his character, is the only one taken notice of as an unbeliever; and he, perhaps, did not so much disbelieve, as spared himself the trouble of formally believing. Bayle can scarcely be regarded as belonging to the literature of France. He left his country very early in life, and all his works were published in Holland. The first French writer who regularly embraced the cause of infidelity was Fontenelle. He may be considered as the father of the French school of free-thinkers. He is the link that connects them with the literary history of Lewis XIV. but he had no share in the fanaticism which made its appearance a little before his death. Ease and personal gratifications were too much his study. He lived, however, to see the licentiousness and literature of France assume quite a new character; the radical cause was in the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. fostered and encouraged by the character of the regent who succeeded him. Religion had dropped its mildness and indulgence, to become at once frightfully gloomy, and provokingly ridiculous.

* New Edition of Madame de Sevigné's Letters.

The harrassing persecution of Le Tellier exhausted the patience of the calmest and most moderate, while the gravest countenance could not forbear smiling at the absurdities which accompanied it. In one view, indeed, it was rendered more fatiguing and oppressive by these absurdities. It was tyranny exercised over the mind as well as the body. The most frivolous scholastic distinction, words without meaning, *efficacious and all-sufficient grace,* were armed with all the terrors which are supplied by the prospects beyond the grave. The death of Lewis XIV. was a signal of emancipation to the libertines of both sexes. They regarded religion with dread. She did not appear with those features which make her respected and beloved, the regulator of human society, the guardian of life and property, the assistant and supporter of the laws and magistracy; but as the crazy and perverse enemy, not only of pleasure, but of reason, and all repose of mind. Fear begot infidelity; most of the infidel fanaticism of the last century was a violent effort to escape from the terrors of religion. Women and thoughtless young men of pleasure affected to be unbelievers; but they were every moment ready to sacrifice this painful, though fashionable pride, for the comforts of devotion, the agreeable, lulling influence of superstition. But though infidelity is too violent a state of mind to be lasting, though even at the period when it prevailed the most, it often confessed itself unable to contend with the

more rational and benignant dominion of religion, yet, from the very uneasiness it felt within itself, it looked abroad for victims; and one of its first victims was the order of the Jesuits. Their war with the Jansenists continued during the whole time of the regency, and broke out with fresh violence a short time before their destruction. In the eagerness of their hostilities, they did not disdain to employ men of the most abandoned characters, Cardinal Tencin, and his sister, Mademoiselle Tencin; about the same time the infamous Dubois served them for purposes of his own. The Jansenists thought to overwhelm them by the production of a saint working miracles in their favour. They chose for this purpose a poor simple deacon, of the name of Paris. After his death crowds assembled round his tomb in the burial-place of St. Medard, in Paris, and prodigies were supposed to be wrought. The authority of government soon produced a cessation of these prodigies. The Jesuits suffered by this farce, but not in the manner the Jansenists intended. The enemies of Christianity, who were indeed enemies of both the parties in this theological dispute, but were animated with particular virulence against the Jesuits, whom they dreaded most, and from whom they had chiefly suffered; who trembled at the thought of a miracle which would establish the truth of revelation—became more encouraged in their hostilities, and declaimed more freely against miracles, conclud-

ing from those which were so easily suppressed to those on which the doctrines of religion rested for support.*

A little before the time of these mock miracles, which, in their remote consequences, so much injured the Jesuits, they had increased the general resentment against them by their proceedings in the city of Thorn, on the frontiers of Poland. Thorn was one of the Hanseatic towns, and enjoyed a republican government, administered by its own citizens, with a certain regulated dependence on the crown of Poland. The Lutheran religion had early introduced itself within its walls, and had become the predominant religion of the place. The Jesuits had, however, obtained an establishment there, and, after their usual manner, were engaged in perpetual aggressions on those whom they stigmatised as heretics. Their college was frequented by the young nobility of Poland, and they were far from discountenancing the insults which their pupils, full of the arrogance of birth, were sufficiently disposed to offer to the children of the protestant burgesses, whom they hated for their religion and despised for their rank. Quarrels without number had taken place; the Jesuits availing themselves of their influence in Poland, where the people, and particularly the higher orders, were zealous Catholics, and moreover connected with the persons concerned on their side, generally

* Hume's Essay on Miracles. See likewise Voltaire, &c.

had the matter determined in their favour, though against the representations and privileges of the city. At length, in July, 1724, on occasion of a procession they celebrated, a great tumult arose, in the progress of which the populace broke into their college, and committed great outrages, as they alleged, against the images of their saints, and even against the sacrament which was exposed to public veneration. They carried their complaints to the diet of Poland; the result was, that a most rigorous sentence was pronounced against the Protestants of Thorn. They were despoiled of their privileges, and a number of the principal among them condemned to death. This sentence was executed with every circumstance of harshness. The Jesuits abandoned all regard to decency and moderation throughout the whole transaction, and, not discerning the character of the times and the rising spirit against them, inflicted an incurable wound on the interests of their order. The feelings excited by this tragedy in all parts cannot now be conceived. The Protestants were loudest in their clamour; but among the Catholics all those infected with the opinions which were becoming fashionable, all who hated the Jesuits, were little less acrimonious. The press teemed with invectives against the order, and it may be observed that the English public prints signalized themselves in the general indignation.*

* See the Newspapers of that time, in the British Museum.

In France during this time, a country which, from all the circumstances of its situation, geographical and political, would extend the influence of its example over the rest of Europe, there was an interval of peace. The war between the Jesuits and Jansenists, if not absolutely suspended, produced no memorable event during the life of Cardinal Fleury; and for some years after. The Cardinal did not regard the former with much fondness or partiality, but he perceived in the fanaticism which animated the latter a disposition dangerous to the monarchy. However, the mildness of his character, his habitual moderation and love of peace, prevented him from taking a decided part on one side or the other, and the disputes concerning the bull *unigenitus* were carried on in a salutary obscurity, when the enthusiasm or ambition of a man who happened to be Archbishop of Paris, instigated and pushed forwards by the Jesuits, once more blew them up into a flame, and raised such a conflagration as was not extinguished but by the destruction of the order. Beaumont was the name of this rash prelate, a man of narrow understanding, artfully stirred up by the ecclesiastical celebrity of St. Athanasius to aspire at following his example. He did not reflect that Athanasius, in his conduct, fell in with the genius of the times he lived in. With the vigour of mind and sagacity of discernment which distinguished this great champion of the Trinity,

he never would, in a laughing age, and among a laughing people, have lent himself to a controversy which could only tend to degrade religion and make it ridiculous. By the orders of the Archbishop, the expiring man, who was desirous of receiving the sacrament prescribed by his religion, in his last moments, was not to be gratified in his wishes, if he did not produce a certificate of his adherence to the bull *unigenitus*. The example of the Archbishop of Paris was imitated by a number of other prelates. On the other hand, the parliaments of the kingdom exerted themselves to enforce the administration of the sacraments. The troops were called out to see their edicts executed; so that it frequently happened that the house of a dying man was surrounded with soldiers; the priests obliged, at the point of the bayonet, to carry up the sacrament to him, to the no small amusement of unbelievers, the scandal of the people, and the secret sorrow of real Christians. The royal authority on many occasions interposed. The parliaments underwent punishment. A deadly hatred of the Jesuits was planted in the minds of all the members composing them, and of all their admirers and partisans. While the Jesuits were thus exposing themselves to general hatred, collecting all that remained of Jansenism against them, the unbelievers, the enemies of all Christianity, and more particularly *their* enemies, had formed themselves into a regular association or fraternity.

Their views had not hitherto been blended into a system: their operations had been irregular and unconnected. They had indeed insinuated themselves among the first ranks, where it became fashionable to seem to belong to them. A number of women, who aspired to distinction and celebrity, had regular dinners and assemblies for them, where they promulgated their doctrines and exercised their wit. The first who took this public way of patronising infidelity, was a person already named in the course of this history, Mademoiselle Tencin, sister to the Cardinal; a woman of very dissolute life, but with that polish of manners and character of talents which much knowledge of the world bestows. She had originally been a nun in a convent at Grenoble; but getting herself released from her vows, she took an hotel and established herself in Paris. She had a very agreeable person, and soon distinguished herself in gallantry. She passed a night with the Regent; but taking that opportunity to talk politics to him, he got disgusted with her. She descended to Cardinal Dubois; and, in the course of her multifarious connections, had a son, afterwards the famous d'Alembert, it is not very certain by what father. She used to call the men of letters she entertained her beasts. She was succeeded by Madame Geoffrin, Madame du Deffant, and Mademoiselle d'Espinasse. With respect to Madame du Deffant, according to the French relations, she was born an infidel. She

never could be got to learn her catechism; and when a girl at the convent, used to vex and confound the nuns by attacking the mysteries of religion. They engaged the celebrated Massillon to speak to her; but, as she was pretty, he laughed at her, and called her a charming child.

These dinners and assemblies at the houses of women were the first places where the unbelievers of France acted at all as a body. There were others at the houses of men. Those at the Baron d'Holbach's are best known. Such circumstances of private life are not unimportant in the history of manners and opinions, which proceeded from the destruction of the Jesuits to change the face of Europe. Several sovereigns, not aware of the danger which threatened themselves and their posterity, encouraged by their protection and applause the growing party. Among these, Frederick King of Prussia distinguished himself. He carried on a regular correspondence with Voltaire and his associates, and was not ashamed to write, and publish himself, books denying the immortality of the soul and the existence of a Providence. The unbelievers, thus countenanced and supported, acquired a very high degree of power; they became the distributors of literary celebrity and academical honours; no one could stand against them, or even independently of them; they laughed and lampooned their enemies off the public stage. If the man who ventured to attack them was poor,

he ended his days in wretchedness. They bore down persons considerable in rank and fortune. What gave them the appearance and effect of a regular association was the undertaking of an Encyclopædia, or General Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. Diderot and d'Alembert were at the head of it. All their followers furnished articles, and the joint result of their labours was a magazine of all sorts of weapons against religion. Their attacks were from this time conducted with plan and combination, and the destruction of the Jesuits became their first object. This they could not have accomplished without the assistance of the government, and at the head of government was a man, the Duke de Choiseul, who entered into all their views.

Such were the general circumstances of the Jesuits, and such the state of religious opinions in the bosom of the civilized world, when Carvalho, after the punishment of the conspirators in the beginning of 1759, accused the order of being implicated in the guilty transaction, and resolved to make them the victims of his vengeance. He would gladly have accomplished their entire destruction; but this event was destined to be postponed for some years. The power and importance of Portugal, as a state, were not sufficient to compel the Pope, and Clement XIII. was strongly attached to the Jesuits. It seems to have been the opinion of this Pontiff, and of many eminent ecclesiastical personages of the time, who saw the dangers

which threatened the whole system of religious policy, from the daily inroads of infidelity, that the best way to guard against those dangers and to uphold the system, was to make no concession whatever, not to give up a single barrier or outwork by which they were fortified, to maintain every prerogative and institution at its height; not to soften down the spirit of the Catholic religion, but present it to its enemies in all its austerity and rigour. Animated by these considerations, one hundred and eighty Bishops, of different countries, several Cardinals, and the three ecclesiastical Electors of Germany, wrote to Clement XIII. exhorting him to stand firm to the Jesuits, and by no means consent to their dissolution. Clement, who was thoroughly imbued with the same principles, did not require this exhortation. He was inflexible to all the arts and importunities of Carvalho. The state of things in France promised indeed a result favourable to the projects of the minister, but he could not reckon upon it as having yet reached its maturity. There were not wanting circumstances to support the Jesuits. Lewis XV. in the midst of the immorality in which he lived, had strong religious impressions upon his mind. He was susceptible, in the highest degree, of the terrors which a state of futurity holds out. He never was visited by sickness, that these did not recur upon him in the most decided manner. He saw the dangers which threatened his monarchy

from the opinions in fashion, and omitted no opportunity of testifying his dislike to the propagators of them. Fashion had brought over his women and principal courtiers to a kind of support of these opinions; but this was not the support of the understanding: the weakness of their characters required something to lean upon, something that should disarm death of its terrors, and shed a lulling influence over them in the arms of vice. They were accordingly ever ready to fly off to the comforts of superstition. They still had a lingering attachment to the Jesuits, from whom they promised themselves they would on occasion receive these comforts in the most agreeable doses. Carvalho felt the pulse of his neighbours, the Spaniards; but these were still remote from his purpose. Charles III. who had just succeeded his brother Ferdinand on the throne, was a religious prince, entirely in the fashion and spirit of ancient times. He was an absolute stranger to the doctrines of infidelity; but his ambassador at the court of Paris, the Count d'Aranda, imbibed them at their source. He frequented the house of Mademoiselle d'Espinasse, where the principal dogmatists in vogue used to hold their nightly assemblies, after their revolt, under the conduct of d'Alembert, from Madame du Deffant, who, old and grown blind and deaf, had naturally lost all power of attracting.

Carvalho, convinced, after different attempts,

that the Pope never would be persuaded to lend the sanction of his authority to any measure against the Jesuits, determined, by an act of the Portuguese government, to expel them from the dominions of Portugal, and throw them all upon their friend and patron, the Pope himself. In prosecution of this design, a foreign vessel was hired, and, in September, 1759, the principal Jesuits in Lisbon put on board of it, with orders to the captain to steer his course directly to Civita-Vecchia, in the Pope's dominions, where he was to land them. This embarkation was followed by another the month after. The Jesuits who had taken their last vows * were in this manner conveyed out of the kingdom. The young had been separated from them, and were detained for some time, in hopes they might be induced to prefer their country and their families to a principle of attachment to a proscribed order; but on this occasion the strange effects of the discipline exercised by the institution, and the means of influence it set in motion, fully shewed themselves. Writers partial to the Jesuits have dwelt with complacency on the conduct of these young men, and celebrated their stedfast attachment as the height of heroism; but I am inclined to think, on the minds of most readers, their narrative will

* The Jesuits, at successive periods, pronounced four different sets of vows. Those mentioned in the text were alone called *professed Jesuits*.

work an effect directly the reverse of what they intended. It will carry the strongest condemnation of a system which could instil such vehement fanaticism into the mind of youth. It will perhaps exhibit the most prominent point of view in which the Jesuits shall appear to have been dangerous to civil society. Their morals and conduct as individuals were unimpeachable. Their most bitter enemies have done justice to them in this respect. Perhaps no body of men was ever destroyed with fewer accusations of this kind against them. There is frequently a propensity to prefer such charges against obnoxious bodies; this appeared in the case of the Templars, to whom the Jesuits have been compared. Some loose and dangerous doctrines to be found in antiquated volumes, published by members of their order, will hardly form a sufficient ground-work for a sentence of condemnation to be pronounced against them. I do not take notice of other charges, which may be more or less founded; but when I read of young Jesuits tearing themselves with a sort of frantic disdain from their country and friends, turning away with a sullen eye from the tears of their parents and sisters, regardless of all the ties which society has woven about the heart of man, of all the tender caresses of nature, I cannot but discern a spirit, flowing from the institution, which so modelled their characters, repugnant to all the principles of wise and humane legislation,

which the father of a family must contemplate with horror, the statesman with apprehension. I shall relate a few out of the many anecdotes recorded. Emanuel Figueridos, of a noble family, was gone to see his father, then on his death-bed; hearing of the first proceedings towards the expulsion, he determined to return to his college, to share the fate of his brethren. In vain two sisters tried to divert him by the most tender expostulations, representing that, on the death of their father, they would be left alone in the world without any one to protect or befriend them. The young Jesuit tore himself from the threshold, watered with their tears, undetained by the last agonizing looks of his dying parent. Another, of the name of Vaz, disregarded in like manner the importunities of a rich widow-sister, who conjured him to come and divide with her her fortune and home. A third, pressed to renounce the order, wrote to the minister himself, his resolution of breathing his last as a Jesuit, and enclosed the form of his vows signed with his blood.

The minister, observing they were animated by a spirit which neither nature nor a love for their country could subdue or soften, ordered a third embarkation, which set sail from Oporto. The whole number of Jesuits, old and young, were thus transported to the shores of Italy. None remained in Portugal but the few who were confined in the prisons. Those in the distant pos-

sessions were likewise thrown on the Papal dominions. The Pope gave them the best reception he could, but it was impossible for him adequately to provide for them; so that they exhibited a lamentable spectacle of distress and misery in the Italian cities. This was the forerunner of an open rupture with the court of Rome. Carvalho was sufficiently irritated at the resistance opposed to him on the subject of the Jesuits, and only waited for an opportunity to declare himself. The Nuncio in Portugal had seconded the intentions of his master, and had shewn himself favourable to the proscribed order. He formed the resolution of driving him out of the kingdom; but this seemed a bold and hazardous stroke of policy under a Prince like Joseph, brought up in habits of submission to the See of Rome. Carvalho, however, succeeded. He took advantage of some matter of punctilio, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess of Brazil with her uncle, Don Pedro; and, the 15th June, 1760, the Nuncio received orders for his departure.

It creates no small wonder that Carvalho, who, in the instance of the Nuncio, and indeed in almost the whole course of affairs, exerted an absolute ascendant over the mind of the King, and never failed to accomplish his purposes, should not have been able to prevent the union of the heiress of the Crown with his declared and mortal enemy, Don Pedro. From that moment his power hung upon a precarious life; and after the proceedings he had

set on foot, after the vengeance he had inflicted on Don Pedro's friends, and the steps he had taken against himself personally, there was no measure of revenge he had not reason to apprehend, should he ever come to be a sort of partner of the throne.

Nowise overcome by these apprehensions, he chose the day of the 21st of September, 1761, to consummate the bloody tragedy which had its beginning in 1759, by the execution of poor Malagrida. He was thrown into prison at the same time with the sufferers of that year; and during this long and hard confinement he had nearly lost his senses. He wrote some books so excessively ludicrous and absurd, that a smile would arise on the face of the reader on being apprised of their contents, if they had not been made the foundation of a cruel sentence of death. The whole conduct of Carvalho towards this unfortunate man must animate every bosom against him. He did not cause him to be tried and condemned as an accomplice in the conspiracy of 1758, but charged with heresy before the inquisition; and it was in one of those ceremonies called autos-da-fe that he suffered. Other absurd and indecent charges are mentioned in the sentence pronounced upon him by the ecclesiastical tribunal, which is such a production as disgraces the country and age, and vindicates Carvalho of all connection with any kind of philosophy.* He was condemned to be burnt

* Appendix, No. 3.

alive; but he obtained, by way of mitigation, that he should be strangled before the faggots were kindled around him. The whole ceremonial was adjusted according to the fashion of the most barbarous times. A lofty scaffold was erected, disposed in the form of an amphitheatre, and richly decorated. Convenient seats were provided for the most distinguished nobility and the members of the administration, who were regularly invited as to a spectacle of festivity and pleasure. Malagrida, seventy-three years old, the paleness of death on his forehead, his hands pinioned behind him, walked between two friars, at the head of fifty-two other persons likewise condemned: but he alone was to furnish out the horrible amusement of the day; he alone was to suffer. Religion, which perhaps had a little bewildered his brain during his past life, imparted a consoling ray to his last moments. He was heard to pronounce with his dying, faltering lips, "Lord, have mercy upon me, "into thy hands I commit my spirit." There were wretches so hardened by their hatred to the Jesuits as to contemplate this tragedy without an emotion of pity. A profligate Capuchin friar, whom Carvalho kept in his pay to write against them, one Father Norbert, otherwise L'Abbé Platel, witnessed the whole process of it, and afterwards boasted, with an execrable attempt at being jocular, that he had had the pleasure of saying mass for the repose of the soul of Malagrida while the flames were consuming his body.

With Malagrida may be said to have ended the remains of the Jesuits in Portugal, and Carvalho had to look abroad for any further gratification to his animosity. Notwithstanding the repeated charges made against the order, it must be owned that, supposing any plot of assassination to have existed at all, there is no proof of their having been concerned in it. In a memorial presented to Clement XIII. by the court of Lisbon in 1759, it is said that a number of intercepted letters and original papers demonstrated their guilt. The answer of the Jesuits appears conclusive. Why were they never produced? With respect to the individual Malagrida, he stands acquitted by the circumstance that he was not brought to trial as a conspirator, but under charges of quite a different nature, having no connection whatever with a conspiracy. The part imputed to him in the sentence of 1759 has been mentioned without any comment in the progress of the narrative; but here it is necessary to observe, that, like the other circumstances recited in that sentence, no evidence is referred to, in support of it. His assurances to the Marchioness of Tavora were so much in the nature of a jocose anecdote at the expense of a religious man, that no wonder they were eagerly taken up by Voltaire; but it certainly derives no additional weight from his authority. It has so happened that the name of Malagrida has been used in England as synonymous with hypocrite.

The blunder of Goldsmith is well known. "I protest, my Lord," addressing himself to the late Marquis of Lansdown, "I cannot conceive why they call you Malagrida; for, as far as I can find out, Malagrida was a very honest man."—That he was not without a good deal of sly circumventing malice; that he bore a pious hatred to the minister, and would have surveyed his destruction with much devout complacency, is probable enough; but history, in justice, can affirm nothing more against him.

The year following his execution, Portugal had to contend against a hostile invasion of its territory, and Carvalho was exhibited to the world as a war minister. In this character he did not appear to much advantage. Baretti, writing two years before, says, "I am told that the troops kept up in this kingdom amount to no more than eight thousand; and if the private men are all like those whom I have seen at Estrimor and Lisbon, there is nowhere in Europe an equal number that looks so wretchedly. The greatest part of them are absolutely in rags and patches; and in Lisbon many of them asked my charity, not only in the streets, but even where they stood sentinels: nor did their officers appear to any great advantage, though they visibly endeavoured to put on a martial look, and set their legs in postures of defence."

Such was the military state of Portugal at this

period, yet war had broken out between England and France as early as 1756. The principal states of Germany and the northern powers had taken part in the contest on one side or the other. It could not be expected that when so fierce a conflagration raged all around, the flames should not extend to the western peninsula of Europe; what might have been foreseen, fell out. A treaty was concluded in August, 1761, between the crowns of France and Spain, known by the name of the family compact, founded on the principle that the interests of the two kingdoms should be intimately and inseparably blended. One of the first measures adopted by the confederates, was to call on Portugal to join their alliance; and in case of refusal, to seek to compel it by force of arms. With such inadequate means of resistance, it should have seemed that the court of Lisbon had no choice but to submit to the dictates of the combined powers; encouraged, however, by assurances of support from England, the Portuguese minister ventured to make a spirited answer. He now exerted himself to put the kingdom in a posture of defence. The army was raised to twenty thousand effective men. Their accoutrements and equipment were attended to, and as much discipline as possible introduced among them. He must have been very much at a loss for generals to command them; for, in his answer to the Spanish ambassador, of April 5th, 1762, are these remarkable words: "It

is notorious to the whole world that in Portugal there are neither generals nor officers of experience; therefore," &c. &c.

O'Hara, Lord Tyrawly, was sent from England to supply this deficiency; he was a man eminent in the circles of wit and gallantry. He had frequently acted as a negociator, and was well known at the court of Lisbon, where he had been, some years before, to adjust commercial differences between the two countries; but where he could have acquired any military knowledge or experience, does not appear. No sooner was he arrived in Portugal than he found abundant matter for his wit and raillery in the awkward movements and tattered appearance of the Portuguese troops. Carvalho was not long in discovering that he was ill suited to the arduous exigency of affairs. He was better qualified to shine in a drawing room, or seduce the affections of a credulous woman. He received no encouragement to remain in Portugal, and accordingly gave up his command, and returned to England. He was succeeded by Count la Lippe, who had served with distinction in the German campaigns. La Lippe applied himself to improve the discipline of the troops, and give them a more respectable character. To show how much this was wanting, the following anecdote is related. A usage had got footing, by which all commissions were disposed of by the nobility to servants and followers, even to footmen. Count

la Lippe being invited to dine at the house of one of the secretaries of state, found the table surrounded by footmen in the uniforms of officers. He refused to sit down unless the officers attending took their places also; the guests were thus left without seats or attendants.

He likewise built a chain of strong forts along the frontier, one of which, and a most important one, bears his name to this day; but the principal reliance of the Portuguese was in the barrenness and misery of the provinces through which the enemy had to enter, without roads and without provisions of any kind. Don Martinho di Mello was sent extraordinary minister to concert means of defence with the court of St. James. He had an audience of George II. who, inquiring what his Sovereign's hopes rested upon, Don Martinho dwelt particularly on the circumstance above-mentioned, the poverty of the frontier provinces. The old Monarch peevishly replied in two French words, "*resources misérables!*"

But wretched as this resource appeared to be, it was attended with the looked-for effect. The combined armies made an irruption into the province of Tras los Montes in the beginning of May, 1762; but were soon compelled to retire, not before they had lost one-third of their numbers by famine and disease. The peace of Paris, in 1763, restored the tranquillity of Europe, and secured the integrity of Portugal. That Carvalho had so easy an

escape was the fortune of his times, in which war scarcely ever penetrated beyond the frontiers of states. The capital heard, but as a distant murmur, the conflict of arms, which served little more than to give an honourable profession to the young nobility, and supply newspaper amusement to the peaceable burgher; well might Doctor Johnson say of such wars, that they produced no interruption to the repose and happiness of private men. A province might be transferred from one potentate to another. A little might be gained or a little lost, but the confederacy of nations remained essentially the same. A thousand deferences and regards; a useful complexity of forms; a mysterious web, twisted out of treaties and ancient precedents, covered and protected the whole, extending to the weakest as well as the most powerful members.. Had Carvalho lived at a later period, when projects of overthrow or resistance engrossed the attention of statesmen; when power was the only foundation of security, the only prop of national existence; when fame and renown were alone obtained by wielding the sword of destruction with vigour and success,—he and his country, in the unprepared state in which they were, must have sunk under the storm. As it was, the war produced but little difficulty or embarrassment to him, and in its consequences gratified the first wish of his heart; did that for him which he had laboured in vain to accomplish—put an end to the order of the Jesuits.

The parliaments of France occupied an undefinable position in the constitution of that kingdom. The character they supported was perfectly anomalous. Acting as courts of justice, they had drawn to themselves the most important functions of legislation. No edict of the King, they maintained, was to be deemed a law unless previously registered by them. This right of registry necessarily carried with it the right of examination and remonstrance. When these remonstrances were persisted in, the King had no means of enforcing obedience, but by personally coming forward, with all the appearance of military despotism, and holding what was called *a bed of justice*. All this was contrary to the principles of wise government, which exclude as much as possible the personal intervention of the supreme magistrate, particularly in acts that may be obnoxious to the people. The parliaments interposed the greatest difficulties in the registry of money edicts; and as war could not be carried on without money, it was in circumstances of war that their authority and influence were at the highest. The ministry found it absolutely necessary to gain them by every soothing art and every kind of indulgence. The disputes about the sacraments, connected with the bull *unigenitus*, had raised a violent flame against the Jesuits, and the parliaments were the centre where this flame was collected, and from which it burned with the greatest fierceness. As a seat in the parlia-

ments descended by inheritance, and could likewise be bought, this abuse, one of the most flagrant in the old monarchy, had filled them with young men, who, with the spirit of youth, were the echoes of the fashionable opinions of the day. Accordingly, many of the members of the parliaments, perhaps the greatest part of them, were infected with the prevailing infidelity, which was patronised by the women who were at the head of the fashion, and which carried with it an appearance of vigour and independence of mind extremely alluring. It should seem, however, that those who took the most decided part against the Jesuits were rather enthusiasts in religion, of the Jansenist faction than of the fashionable party of unbelievers. There is reason indeed to think that Monsieur Chalotais, who distinguished himself in the parliament of Brittany against them, was connected with the latter; but, in general, what has been said may be regarded as true. At the head of the parliaments, of the body of the magistracy, were families who had for ages been consecrated to the gown, and in whom resided much of the spirit of ancient times, much attachment to religion, much zeal against modern opinions and innovations. These, however, had early distinguished themselves by an opposition to the Jesuits; they had become early associated to the Jansenist party.

It was not only as the parliaments acquired greater power, that the Jesuits suffered by the

war, but as it revealed circumstances in the conduct of the order which they had been repeatedly charged with, but which they had as often denied, and which never before had become the objects of legal or public proof. Soon after their institution, the Jesuits, considering how their purposes might be forwarded by the possession of wealth, were tempted, in their extensive and widely disseminated missions, to join the practice of trade and commerce with that of preaching and propagating Christianity. They were enabled to undersell other merchants by the advantages which they possessed. At the time of their influence in the courts of sovereigns they paid no importation duties. Their colleges were places in which they deposited their merchandise, so as to be free from the expense of warehouse room. They drew upon each other in distant parts of the world, and demanded a higher rate of exchange, alleging the greater degree of security. They were taxed with this practice of trade and commerce by John de Palafox, Bishop de la Puebla de los Angeles, in a letter addressed to Pope Innocent X. in 1649. Palafox was a prelate so eminent for piety that it was long believed he would have been enrolled among the saints of the Catholic Church. He seems to have been animated with great zeal against the Jesuits, and bitterly complained of them; and it was, perhaps, they who intercepted the honours of sanctity from him. Had they been prudent, they would have

given up their commercial speculations when their influence was declining, and so many enemies raised against them. This, however, was by no means the case; they were never carried to greater extent than in the middle of the eighteenth century. As early as 1747, Father de la Valette, at St. Peter's, in Martinico, had in his hands a considerable branch of the trade of the French West Indies. His conduct was so far from being disapproved of or discountenanced by his fraternity, that he was appointed superior-general of the Windward Islands. His speculations ran into a larger circle. He established new factories, corresponded with the principal mercantile houses in Europe. Lionay and Gouffer, brothers, of Marseilles, had accepted bills for him to the amount of one million and a half of French money, for which he was to provide by merchandise from the West Indies. The merchandise was intercepted by English cruisers at the breaking out of the war; the bills became due; the acceptors were obliged to declare themselves bankrupts. Their connection with la Valette was then disclosed. The creditors sued the Jesuits; these evaded payment; they had the folly to write to some who importuned them that they would offer up the holy sacrifice of the mass for them. It may be imagined how such an answer amused and rejoiced their witty enemies. The cause was solemnly pleaded before a crowded audience at Paris; it was deci-

ded against the Jesuits. The greatest public satisfaction was manifested; a proof that their proceedings on the bull *unigenitus* had created enemies to them in all orders of the community. In the course of the suit, the books containing their constitution and internal regulations had been made public. Most of the parliaments decided upon these, that the order should not be allowed to subsist in France. The King consulted the assembled clergy upon the subject; they answered almost unanimously in favour of the Jesuits. The progress of infidelity, and the audacious books every day published, directed equally against the throne and the altar, had struck them with consternation. They at several times presented remonstrances, which events have shewn to have been prophetic. Their expressions are remarkable: "We are advancing fast," said they, "to the fatal moment in which the uncontrolled liberty of publication shall have overturned the church and state." They did not reflect that their remonstrances and declarations were of no effect, while their conduct in private life disgraced the cause of religion and morality they professed to support. Their choice too of the man who was to be the bearer of the remonstrance was extremely ill-judged; Brienne, Archbishop of Thoulouse, notoriously connected with the infidel party, and making open professions of atheism. The alarm communicated itself at last to the parliaments, who condemned to the

flames a number of the most objectionable publications. At the same time, however, when the destruction of the Jesuits was agitated, the far greater number were zealous against them. As there were some exceptions to this zeal, there were parts of the kingdom in which the order still subsisted. Their enemies were apprehensive that they would watch a favourable opportunity, and, by means of their intrigues at court, procure their entire re-establishment. They remembered that the same partial condemnation and expulsion had taken place in the reign of Henry IV: but that, as there was no general law against them, extending to the whole kingdom, the storm had passed over them, and before the end of the reign they had re-appeared in the capital. The same Archbishop of Paris, who had set on foot the ill-judged and indecent proceedings respecting the administration of the sacraments, which were one principal cause of their disasters, now increased the ardour of their enemies, and consummated the work of their destruction, by his inconsiderate zeal in befriending them. He issued a pastoral letter against the edicts of the parliaments; pretending they had no right to interfere in the case of engagements contracted at the foot of the altar. The minister, the Duke de Choiseul, was decidedly against them. The finances were in the utmost disorder, and the project of relieving the public revenue by the spoliation of religious orders, had been received

with complacency by former ministers. It was thought politic to divert the minds of the people from the calamities of the war and the humiliating peace which concluded it, by furnishing them with a fresh topic for speculation and discourse. The King, feeble and irresolute, gladly closed with any measure which promised him repose in the midst of his dissoluteness. The mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who, though connected with the unbelievers, might easily have been guided the other way by some timely compliances, had been, by the austerity of the Jesuits, enrolled among their declared enemies. She expected the same indulgence as Father Annat in the preceding reign was said to have shewn to the beautiful and interesting la Valliere. She was disappointed. The Jesuit de Sacy absolutely refused to administer the sacraments to her, unless she repaired the scandal of her past life by immediately quitting the court. Possibly the Jesuits intended this display of austerity as an answer to the reproaches their enemies resounded with much vehemence on all sides, though many of them with a very ill grace, accusing them of very loose and accommodating opinions in morality. Another interpretation of their conduct is, that they were influenced by attachment to the Queen and the Dauphin, who had always been among their most zealous friends. Whatever were their motives, the effect was, that their enemies prevailed. The

Queen and Dauphin had no power to uphold them. A royal edict appeared in 1764, by which they ceased to be an order through the whole extent of the French dominions. This blow was followed by similar ones in the neighbouring states. Spain imitated the example of France. The family compact had formed the strictest union between the two kingdoms. The current of manners and opinions had set very strongly to the former from the latter. Many of the Spanish nobility and men of rank affected to be indoctrinated in the Parisian school, none more so than the man at the head of the monarchy, as president of the Council of Castile and prime minister, Count d'Aranda. He had contracted intimate connections with France, was privy to all the views of Choiseul and his party, and disposed to favour them. The intrigues of the Portuguese minister might have had some share in determining the court of Madrid. The hatred of the other monks was certainly not without its effect. The Jesuits had always affected to separate themselves from their motley crowd. Their ignorance, the grossness of their manners, inspired them with repugnance and dislike. Though they, too, pronounced the vow of poverty, yet they never were much reconciled to the idea of a mendicant fraternity, and betrayed little of the appearance of one. The individuals were remarked by an air of polite breeding, as well as by literary acquirements and general information. Whatever objections lay

against the order, there was nothing mean, or coarse, or vulgar about them. The advantages of noble birth, of gentlemanly manners, and even of personal appearance, were held in considerable estimation: hence a union of the other monks against them. They rejoiced in their adversity, and triumphed in their fall. Their clamours were particularly powerful in Spain. On the night of the 31st of March, 1767, the six houses of the Jesuits in Madrid were surrounded by troops, and all the Jesuits inhabiting them sent to the coast to be transported out of the kingdom. The same measure was carried into execution a few days after throughout all the provinces. The ships that conveyed them directed their course to Civita-Vecchia; but the Pope could not possibly support the multitudes which the states of Catholic Europe were every day pouring out upon his territories. The Papal governor refused to admit this fresh importation, and they were then carried to the island of Corsica, where they were landed to the number of two thousand three hundred, without any provision being made for them, without any prospect but famine. The two heads of the house of Bourbon had now declared themselves against the order. The younger branch of Naples joined in the hostilities. The Marquis of Carracioli had great influence in that kingdom, and he was a convert to French opinions. Paris was the centre from which the spirit of innovation diverged to all parts

of Europe. This spirit infected chiefly the higher class—princes, distinguished statesmen, the nobility in general, all who aspired to shine, to enjoy any of the fugitive reputation of the day. The Jesuits were driven from Naples and Sicily. They had already experienced the same fate in the distant possessions of Spain and Portugal. Still something was wanting to the implacable animosity of their enemies—a Papal bull, which should finally suppress the order. There were no means of obtaining this from Clement XIII. who was firmly wedded to them; so that all that could be done, was to heap every day fresh mortifications upon the Pontiff. Naples seized upon the Duchies of Benevento and Ponte-Corvo. Avignon was annexed to France. The Senate of Venice was prevailed upon to join in these measures of hostility; even the Empress Queen, though a zealous Catholic, proceeded in several instances, particularly in her Italian dominions, against the interests and inclinations of the Papal court. At length, Clement XIII. dying in 1769, his successor, Ganganelli, fearing a general breaking-up of the Catholic world, acceded to the wishes of so many potentates, or rather consummated a work which had been advancing by the help of so many arts and intrigues. The 21st of July, 1779, appeared the much-desired bull, suppressing the order of the Jesuits. There is reason to think this bull was bargained for on Ganganelli's elevation to the

Papal chair. The Conclave had been extremely tumultuous and divided; the election was determined by the French party, at the head of which was Cardinal Bernis.

Thus ended a society of men, which, from its first establishment, attracted the attention and divided the opinions of Europe in a higher degree than might have seemed possible to a mere religious fraternity. A monk, possessed of no political power, commanding no armies, having no means of exacting obedience, was seen to exercise a despotism unparalleled in history; and this despotism itself subservient to a certain spirit, to certain tendencies, transmitted from generation to generation, arising from unknown sources, and flowing in invisible channels. This spirit binds together individuals, dispersed over the plains of Tartary and the forests of North America, the deserts of Abyssinia, and the frozen regions of the North Pole. A confederacy is formed, extending from one extremity of the world to the other, in which talents the most various, natures the most dissimilar, activity the most restless, policy the most subtile, ambition the most aspiring, advance with perfect harmony, and with a uniform pace, towards some object, not perhaps distinctly seen by any human mind, not seen at all by most of the persons engaged in forwarding it, promising no manner of gratification to any individual. The curious speculator is led to form a conjecture what this object was, or rather what

the ultimate result would have been, had the pursuits and enterprises of the order been crowned with success.—The world would have been reduced to much such a state of things as was established in Paraguay. All the vigorous principles of action in man would have been destroyed, or stunted and dwarfed; curiosity would have been repressed; discussion, its offspring, in a great measure intercepted; science confined within a very narrow circle; no daring or brilliant enterprsie atchieved or formed; ambition scarcely ever waked from its slumber; in fine, the whole system of life would have been changed—much of the evil would have been excluded, nearly all the good suppressed. Instead of those different modes of faith which exercise and sharpen the faculties, and sometimes beget mere destructive contention, there would have been only one scheme of belief, prescribed by the Roman Pontiff, under the guidance and tuition of the general of the Jesuits. Every Prince would have been absolute as long as he submitted to their direction; their will would have been the last resort, the supreme rule of government in the world. It is clear, that were this condition of mankind desirable, it is perfectly unattainable. All the passions, the whole nature of man, are in arms against it. Such, however, would have appeared to be their object, had they reflected what the principles of their institution, their whole system of discipline, in the event of

final and complete success, were calculated to produce. To the survivors it may afford some consolation, that they failed in what it was impossible they should ever reach; that, at war with all the human mind has of vicious or of good, they were defeated. They succeeded in their first enterprises: as they advanced, difficulties multiplied upon them; their successes begot new enemies. It was in the order of events that every victory they obtained should prepare the way for their overthrow.

It was an opinion pretty prevalent before the dissolution, that the order was possessed of immense wealth; yet, on investigation, they were found to be a poor fraternity. The Sovereigns who expected great plunder were disappointed. The Chevalier de Pinto, formerly minister at the court of St. James, afterwards secretary of state for foreign affairs, in which situation he died a few years ago, and who commanded the Portuguese army sent against Paraguay, told a nobleman who was so good as to communicate the information to the author, that he found the Jesuits an inoffensive set of men, unarmed, and without money.

Carvalho, who considered himself as the first direct agent in the destruction accomplished, received the news with transports of joy. Solemn thanksgivings were, by his orders, celebrated all over the kingdom. Lisbon was illuminated for

three successive nights. Already had the intercourse with Rome, which, during the reign of the last Pope, had been broken off, at the commencement of the new Pontificate been re-established. A Nuncio resided at Lisbon, an ambassador from Portugal exercised his functions at the Papal court.

Connected with Carvalho's measures against the Jesuits, was a scheme for the improvement of public education. Public education had been almost entirely in their hands in Portugal, as well as in other countries; and there too they had produced men eminent for polite literature. Literature, however, was far from being in a flourishing condition in that kingdom. Extreme ignorance prevailed in all orders of the community, even in the highest. Carvalho published several edicts, in which he attributed this to the Jesuits. He accused them particularly of having, by their machinations, occasioned the decay of the University of Coimbra, which, before their institution, had been distinguished by the many excellent scholars it produced. What truth there was in any of these charges, it would be difficult at present to decide; nor does such a decision fall within the province of the historian. Letters-patent were issued by the King, addressed to Carvalho, appointing him his delegate for the reform of the university, with the most ample powers. In consequence he proceeded to Coimbra with great pomp, followed by a splen-

did retinue. He expelled a number of professors, and substituted others in their stead. He limited the period of the vacations, and introduced other changes. He had, in pursuance of the same views, directed to the diffusion of knowledge, converted a principal house of the Jesuits in Lisbon into a college for the education of the young nobility, in which suitable professors were provided for every branch of study. He judged very rightly that establishments of this kind should be illustrated by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity calculated to make an impression on the minds of the people. Accordingly the secretaries of state, the principal members of the government, the most distinguished nobility, and the foreign ambassadors, were invited to the opening of the new college. Whilst he busied himself with these plans for the instruction of the higher orders, he did not neglect the means of communicating some portion of knowledge to the lower classes. The arsenal was appropriated to the reception of poor children, who were to be maintained there at the public expense for the space of eight years, and taught such trades and handicrafts as might enable them to gain their bread, and be useful to their country.

The circumstances of Portugal in respect to the food of the inhabitants called for measures to provide an adequate supply; and though the measures adopted by Carvalho were contrary to the general principles of political economists, yet

perhaps they were warranted by the particular exigency of the country. It has been calculated that the city of Lisbon does not derive corn from the soil around it in a larger proportion than what supports its population for three months in the year. The distant provinces would supply the deficiency, but there are no roads between them and the capital. Supposing the whole kingdom to produce enough for its consumption, the only thing wanting would be to secure a regular distribution by adequate means of internal communication; but the produce of the whole kingdom is short of the demands of its population by at least fifteen days in the year. Such appears to have been the state of facts on which Carvalho reasoned and acted. His first object was to provide a supply for the capital: this might have been done by the construction of roads between it and the grain provinces. This method, however, required time and an expense which the Portuguese treasury could not well defray; he therefore ordered the vineyards in whole districts to be pulled up, and the soil appropriated to the raising of corn; an act of authority which was not found efficacious for its purpose. Such is ever the case where despotism attempts short cuts to its object. Individuals who are not allowed to exercise their own discretion respecting the use of their property, one way or other disappoint the views of those who constrained them. Importations from abroad became neces-

sary, and here again Carvalho interfered in his usual arbitrary manner. Government took all the corn imported, and paid for it the price it deemed reasonable; it was lodged in the public stores, and from them sold to the consumers. This monopoly still continues, and, by all accounts, produce no pernicious effects. Lisbon is plentifully supplied; and, as the transactions between the government and the importer are under the best regulation and controul, the latter is never known to complain of the price awarded to him. This may be. It is certain, that the worst system may have its evils corrected, and in a great measure subdued in the execution; but the reader need not be reminded how precarious the understanding between the buyer and seller must be, where all competition is excluded, and to what accidents the economy of supply must be exposed in consequence.

Slavery prevailed very generally in Portugal, in pursuance of a maxim of the Roman law, which determined that the progeny of a woman, herself a slave, could never be free; and as a number of negro women had been imported, who cohabited with the natives of the country, the slavish taint was widely diffused; their descendants, in whatever degree, being deemed slaves. An edict appeared, ordaining that any one who could trace a free mother in the line of his ancestors, should be emanci-

pated, and the children born in Portugal, of whatever mother, should be free.

The distinction of old and new Christians was productive of very pernicious consequences. A convert from the Jewish or Moorish religion was not only himself a new Christian, but delivered down the name to all his posterity, and they whose families were lost in Christian obscurity, disdained all alliance with them, scarcely acknowledging them as natives of the same country. By this absurd prejudice the state was rent into two divisions. The new Christians too were stigmatised as unbelievers in disguise. They were made the objects of perpetual accusations before the inquisition, and were in constant danger of passing into the prisons of that inexorable tribunal. Carvalho attempted to abolish a distinction which, having its root in a system of manners and opinions, was beyond the reach of his power. He published an edict, declaring that all the Christians of Portugal were to be considered as members of the same state, as children of the same church.

He pursued a number of plans for the extension and encouragement of commerce, but the spirit of his plans was for the most part narrow and misjudged. He ordained that no one should make use of any articles but what were manufactured at home; and to enforce this ordinance, when a person appeared in cloth of foreign manufacture, his gar-

ments frequently were torn off his back. If metal buttons, falling under the same exception, were exhibited, they were broken to pieces by the common executioner. Experience, from which all reasonable theory is deduced, has shewn the inefficacy of these violent means. Other of his measures, founded on better principles, deserve praise. He gave up the royal monopoly of tobacco, left the business to the industry and enterprise of individuals, subjected the article only to reasonable duties, and reaped the fruits of this true course of policy in the flourishing condition to which it was brought. Agriculture, which was decaying in the province of Alentejo, he revived by similar (the only effectual) expedients. To promote it in another part of the kingdom, he cut a canal, four miles in length, which brought up the sea to Oeyras. The choice of this direction was attributed to the circumstance that his estates lay in the neighbourhood, and that he wished to open a means of transporting the produce of them. He could not benefit himself without benefiting the country. The work was carried on with great vigour and diligence. Night did not suspend the labours of the workmen; torches supplied the place of the light of day. To assist the effect of the canal, he established an annual fair at Oeyras. He went to it himself one year. An immense concourse of merchants and other people was attracted to it by his presence. Splendid entertain-

ments were exhibited at his expense, and general plenty reigned, owing to magazines and storehouses erected for the occasion. A great assortment of articles in silk, woollen, and cotton, was sold.

He founded a school of commerce in the capital. There was a public examination every year, at which he attended, accompanied by the principal nobility. Questions were proposed to two hundred students on the subject of arithmetic, political economy, book-keeping, the course of exchange, and the art of navigation. Problems were afterwards distributed, which each solved as they came to him by lot. This kind of patronage, by public and flattering marks of personal notice, evinced Carvalho's sagacity and good sense. He could not have fallen on any more likely to be efficacious.

War had broken out with the Emperor of Morocco. Magagan, a Portuguese town on the coast of Africa, had been taken after a gallant defence made by the governor. Carvalho was not intent upon retaking it. He considered a continuation of hostilities as destructive, even in the event of success. He hastened, therefore, to conclude a peace, with a view of converting this extensive Empire into a market for the industry of Portugal.

The daring depredations of the Algerine corsairs made extraordinay attention to the navy absolutely

necessary; they had landed on the coast and carried off numbers into captivity. In the province of Algarve they had committed several murders and made sixty slaves. The navy had been in good condition even in the beginning of his administration. It had been much improved in the short war with Spain. In the South Seas the Portuguese took two large Spanish ships of a superior force. On the occasion of the Algerine depredations vessels were fitted out, which succeeded in keeping the pirates at a distance. The army had gone on increasing in numbers and improving in discipline ever since the peace. It was reckoned at thirty-five thousand men before the conduct of affairs was taken out of Carvalho's hands. Count de Lippe, on quitting the service, had left behind him foreign officers, and particularly engineers, of considerable reputation. Others were engaged by large pensions to join them. There were continual reviews; and, as far as troops can be prepared for war by these pacific evolutions, the Portuguese were so.

One of the most important circumstances in the life of this statesman is the rebuilding of Lisbon, and a system of subsequent regulations for preserving peace and good order among the inhabitants, and securing to them cleanliness and the means of extinguishing fires by sufficient supplies of water.

Lisbon, before the earthquake, was supposed to

contain twenty-four thousand houses. Of these two-thirds were levelled with the ground, and the remaining third left in a very shattered condition. Some time was required to repair the effects of this calamity. A great part of the people lived for a long time in wooden huts and cottages, built about the town, or in ground-floors and cellars where they cleared away the rubbish. Carvalho got himself invested with a commission for rebuilding it, and in the execution of this commission he displayed ideas of grandeur and magnificence which accorded well with his character. The town rose from its ruins more splendid than ever. Several immense fabrics were erected, particularly the arsenal, which served likewise for an exchange, and which travellers admired as one of the noblest buildings in the world. It struck, however, one of these travellers* that the treasures expended in raising these edifices, would have been better employed in providing accommodation for the lower and middling people, who, by thousands, had been driven from their homes. Carvalho, who was ambitious of the name of a great man, justly thought that any act of splendour and show would sooner confer upon him that name among the multitude, than those sober unostentatious acts which have the solid happiness and comfort of a people for their object. The arsenal above-mentioned, which,

* Baretti.

from its subserviency to the purposes of the mercantile world, was called Praca da Commercio, though of a magnificence disproportioned to the trade of the town it adorns, was well calculated to raise his celebrity. It fronts the Tagus, which is there deep enough for the largest ships of war to ride at anchor. Each of its sides measures four hundred yards. It is supported by pillars, and a portico or covered walk runs round it. So intent was he upon his plan of rebuilding, that no honour or encouragement he deemed lavish to promote it. He promised the order of Christ to any one who should take a considerable share in rebuilding a square he designed, and which was denominated the Boscio; and being informed that there were a number of Jews among the persons so engaged, who, assuming the appearance of Christians, escaped by that means the persecution of the inquisition, he not only connived at the disguise; but sending for one of them, he told him that there were reports abroad representing him as he was in reality; and the only way he had of protecting him was making him knight of the order of Christ, which he accordingly did; and it is remarkable that in this square, mostly raised by the labours of Jews, the holy inquisition established its sittings.

To him Lisbon is indebted for regulations well calculated to secure a supply of water in case of fire, and likewise for a body of men in a state of

readiness to assist upon these occasions. The water is conveyed from two principal points: One from the great aqueduct, which carries it in a small stream, through hills and over deep gullies, for the course of twelve miles, and is the aliment of the thirty-two chief fountains of the city. About three thousand fine-looking men, chiefly Gallicians, are settled in the town, whose employment is to bring the water from the fountains, and who are obliged to attend, each at his own head-quarters, as the bell rings, which is the alarm of fire. There are likewise good fire-engines in every district.

Carvalho was not so successful in preserving cleanliness; whether from the obstinate habits of the people, addicted to dirt, or from some other cause he could not overcome. He did all in his power by prohibitions; one particularly levelled against the practice of throwing ordure out of the windows, yet such vast heaps obstructed the streets as to render them almost impassable.*

The earthquake was not the only calamity which visited Lisbon during his government. Many other terrible accidents happened, and the general misery and distress which they produced, rendered strong measures for securing peace and good order absolutely necessary. The custom-house, filled with a great variety of merchandise,

* Baretti.

was reduced to ashes; by which a number of families were entirely ruined. From ruin and poverty arose multitudes of robbers, who, forming themselves into bands, attempted and executed the most daring enterprises. Eight churches were pillaged in a few days. Carvalho appointed a numerous watch to go the rounds at night, and imposed it as a duty on every house to bring forward a man for this service, and support him for the space of a month, or contribute an equivalent in money. Numbers of both sexes had been driven to a vagrant libertine life. To get rid of many of them, particularly the women, he bethought himself of coupling them together, and sending them to people an uninhabited tract in South America. He likewise added to the rigour of the criminal code, declaring that the least appearance of armed resistance to the officers of justice, although no blow were struck, should subject the offender to the penalties of high treason. He attempted to extend relief to the insolvent debtors who crowded the jails, relief demanded by humanity, but which it has always been found difficult to reconcile with strict justice, and the security of credit. But what was better, by his exertions the miseries of insolvency, which perhaps baffled all his skill to remedy, became less frequent. He did much to promote the industry of the country, by establishing manufactories and opening the only good roads which are still to be seen.

It had been often agitated in the Portuguese councils to transfer the seat of government to the Brazils. This measure had been particularly recommended in a memorial drawn up for the purpose by Don Lewis da Cunha,* uncle to the person who filled the office of secretary of state in conjunction with Carvalho, and was ever in subserviency to him. Old da Cunha was a man of considerable research, and had paid particular attention to questions connected with the interests of his country. He left behind him a number of works upon subjects of this kind, which have not been printed. He was influenced, no doubt, in the proposal he submitted to the consideration of his government by the inconsiderable figure which Portugal made in the map of Europe. The peninsula of which it forms the western skirt, is so unequally divided between it and Spain, that it was almost impossible for it to preserve its independent sovereignty, if any event should infuse vigour and animation into the councils of the latter; but this powerful neighbour united with France must overcome all resistance. The soil upon which Lisbon stands is in perpetual danger of concussions from earthquakes; the territory round it, barren, affording a scanty supply of grain: The Portuguese dominions in South America stretch out to

* See an account of it in the Appendix to Southey's Letters from Portugal.

an extent of two thousand miles. A government seated there, banishing the circumscribed system of monopolies and restraints, opening itself to the suggestions of true commercial wisdom, would, combined with the variegated fertility of the land, and the multiplied productions which Nature alone has scattered over it, pour out such a tide of commerce as must bear up the new empire to the highest pitch of prosperity and opulence. Rio de Janeiro is the noblest situation that can be conceived for the capital of such an empire. Commanding an harbour in which all the fleets of Europe might ride with security, the whole of the immense continent, if not immediately subject to Brazil, would be awed and guided and directed by its power, and the fugitive monarchy of Portugal would rise to the first rank of states, the arbiter, the moderator of the New World. The earthquake was a good opportunity for carrying da Cunha's project into execution, and to Carvalho, no doubt, it must be imputed that it was not. The Portuguese government might have escaped the dangers of the war that soon after followed, and the still more awful dangers which subsequent times were destined to disclose.

Carvalho's conduct upon the subject of religion was variable, and does not lead to any certain inference respecting his real sentiments. He began by abridging the power of the inquisition, yet he afterwards seems to have laboured to give it

a higher degree of dignity and importance, and arm it with new terrors. He ordered that in all memorials and papers addressed to it, it should receive the style of Majesty. It has been seen, in the case of Malagrida, what cruel use he made of its authority. On the one hand the Jews were protected and even encouraged; on the other, autos-da-fe continued to be celebrated. They were not indeed fatal to any person but the unfortunate Jesuit above-mentioned. The one, however, in October, 1765, would, from the nature of the offences imputed to the culprits, do honour to the most absurd times. The crime of one Margretta Josepha was disrespect shewn to the image of a saint;* whatever service the unbelievers or philosophers, as they called themselves, derived from his resentment against the Jesuits, they could never speak of him without a blush.

A similar inconsistency, in appearance at least, may be traced in his measures relating to foreign powers. He steadily adhered to the alliance with England, and resisted the threats of France and Spain rather than abandon it. In his conversation he appeared attached to England, and affected to consider its government and internal policy as models for imitation; yet in a variety of instances he seemed to delight in thwarting the interests of its merchants. The monopoly at Oporto, directed

* Appendix, No. 3.

in the most unequivocal manner against the English factory, awakened the strongest resentment in England. Some of his regulations respecting grain were much complained of. Lord Tyrawly was sent to remonstrate, and Carvalho was obliged in some measure to yield to his representations. Still the generality of observers must have thought his proceedings destitute of method or system. He was anxious at one time to have the Princess of Brazil married to the Duke of Cumberland, and at a subsequent period he proposed a union between her son, the Prince of Beira, and the unfortunate Elizabeth of Bourbon, sister to Lewis XVI. This seeming tergiversation flowed from a wish to preserve a situation of independence for his country. Zealously attached to this object, he determined to carry himself with impartiality between the two great states; and whatever leaning his inclinations gave him to on one side, he constantly repaired by demonstrations of friendship on the other. Idle and nugatory, indeed, would have been all his dexterity in balancing interests without any means of resisting violence, if a real safeguard had not existed to the feeble in what was denominated the law of nations. That the civilized world had such a tutelary angel, to whom the most powerful, even in the high flow and almost insolence of prosperity, paid homage, will appear by what occurred before the peace of 1763. Admiral Boscawen pursued and destroyed

some French ships on the coast of Lagos. The court of Lisbon, at that time neutral, deemed this act a violation of its neutrality, and demanded reparation. It will be remembered that Great Britain was at the height of naval and military greatness; her navy scoured the ocean; her councils directed by a Chatham, a Wolfe at the head of her army, she might have treated the demands of Portugal with disdain. Yet Lord Kinnoul repaired to the court of this helpless complainant, and in a public audience offered the best excuses he could for the Admiral.

Carvalho had received the title of Count d'Oeyras in 1759; he was created Marquis de Pombal in 1770. In the latter end of 1776, King Joseph began to sicken, and died the 23d of February, the year following. By this event Pombal saw himself in a great measure delivered into the hands of his enemies. He must have reckoned among the most implacable of these, Don Pedro, husband of the new Queen, and he had reason to contemplate the effects of his power with terror. He had, some time before the death of the late King, conceived the design of transferring the crown to the Prince de Beira, and was encouraged in it by the answer of the French court to the proposal of a treaty of marriage, interposing it as a condition, that a law similar to the Salic law of France should be introduced into Portugal, by which females should be excluded, and the Prince im-

mediately ascend the throne on the death of his grandfather. The King was privy to the design. It was, however, frustrated by the premature discovery made by the person to whom Pombal had confided it. Defeated in this arrangement, he is reported to have turned his thoughts to measures of force. Some troops were assembled round Lisbon, which he intended, it is said, to employ for the purpose of intercepting the crown from the object of his dread. There is no foundation for this report. The Princess, to whom the established course of descent gave the successson, mounted the throne without the least opposition or disturbance. Pombal retained his principal employments, for some months of the new reign; and when he was dismissed, it was in terms of praise rather than of censure. A considerable pension was granted to him. He was escorted to his estate of Pombal, which he had chosen for the place of his retirement, by the Queen's own guard; and there he lived in peace, employing himself in exercises of devotion till the 5th of May, 1782, when he terminated his career at the age of eighty-three.

In pronouncing upon his character, the first question that arises, is as to the justice of his conduct. The rigour and severity he exercised on the unfortunate noblemen supposed to be engaged in the attempt of 1758, would overpower every reader with horror and indignation, if the crime was imaginary, no less than the punishment tre-

mendous. The argument on the reality of the alleged conspiracy has been already exhibited. It only remains here to observe, that Pombal, in his retirement, sought consolations from a religion which he must have regarded with terror, had he approached it with hands polluted with the blood of innocents. Acquitting him of the horrible charge of having unjustly destroyed the objects of his hatred, the number and variety of punishments which marked his government evince there was much cruelty in his disposition. If he did not invent the crime, he exceeded all measure in the punishment of it. Besides the examples that have been mentioned, one as revolting as any of the rest was furnished in October, 1775. A poor Genoese watch-maker, of the name of John Baptista Pele, having laid a plot, as he supposed, to destroy him, he had him torn to pieces by horses, after both his hands had been cut off.

This stern disregard for the life and sufferings of man has contributed to raise his character for talents. It became a fashion with the wits of France to launch out into elaborate declamations upon cruelty, and represent a thirst for blood as a mark of intellectual decision and vigour. On this canvas Montesquieu has drawn an imaginary dialogue, in which Sylla is the principal interlocutor, and the ferocious Dictator lays claim to the admiration of mankind, not as the general who had obtained splendid victories in the service of his

country, but as the man who had butchered some of the noblest and best of his fellow-citizens. Montesquieu, who was himself a good man, did not foresee that the time would come when torrents of blood would inundate his country, shed by the most vulgar ruffians, boldly challenging admiration on the score of their base and detestable murders. Some of these are said to have been heated by his picture of Sylla in their headlong course of destruction. The opinion to be taken out of such declamatory effusions is not, I believe, likely to gain general assent. Few will associate the idea of extraordinary and commanding genius with that of a heart incapable of pity, destitute of every thing that softens and harmonises human life. An expression, become almost proverbial, stigmatises cruelty as the companion of cowardice. Without maintaining this position as universally exact, we may safely affirm that no doctrine can be more dangerous than that which regards every humane and forgiving emotion as a proof of a little understanding, and requires nothing of a man to bestow on him the appellation of great, but a want of feeling for the sufferings of his fellow-creatures.

Pombal derives substantial fame from all he did to improve the kingdom he governed. His measures for this purpose have been detailed, it is hoped, without any important omission. That large and even magnificent ideas of amelioration possessed his breast, will be evident from the de-

tail that has been given. Objections to particular acts may occur; but, on the whole, they exhibit the picture of a bold and comprehensive reformer. The destruction of the Jesuits, the principal feature in his life, will give rise to different opinions; but there can be only one, it is presumed, as to his attempts to curtail the power of the nobles and clergy in Portugal, and disseminate industry among the people.

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF CARDINAL ALBERONI.

Alberoni's Letter to the Duke of Popoli, from Coxe's Memoirs, &c. Vol. II. p. 158.

THE King, my master, has put into my hands your Excellency's letter on a matter which fills me with horror and consternation; as, in my poor judgment, should it take place, it would ruin this poor exhausted country, which cannot recover without the benefit of a long peace.

After stating the question, whether the arrest of Molinez was an infraction of the neutrality of Italy? *and even admitting the affirmative,* he proceeds: "But with what force, with what treasure, can the Catholic King attempt to invade the kingdom of Naples? *For even granting there are two millions of dollars in the treasury, that we have another fleet, transports, provisions, ammunition, artillery; granting that it reaches Naples, that the whole country declares in favour of the King, that the fortresses surrender,* who is the person that can answer for the maintenance of the conquest? All these requisites, however, are not yet there. Let the Duke of Popoli state how much time is necessary to collect them. Is your Excellency ignorant that two months would be required for an expedition to Majorca. So long a time then being necessary for such preparations, the squadron destined for this glorious

enterprise must be left in the port of Cadiz or Barcelona to rot in inactivity, to the shame and scandal of the world.

Consider, my Lord Duke, that before the declaration of war against the Turks, the Archduke obtained, through the Pope, the assurance that the King of Spain would not attack his Italian dominions. *Can the King consider the arrest of Molinez as an infraction of the neutrality, and, in consequence, as a motive to recall his promise?* My Lord Duke, according to the guarantee of the maritime powers and France, no hostilities were to take place in Italy, nor any change in the existing possessions. Now reprisals, whether they happen or not, cannot be regarded as acts of hostility between two powers already at enmity.

Supposing then that our troops effect a landing, and take possession of the kingdom, this very success will be desirable to the Germans, because it will furnish them with a reason to carry into execution those vast designs which might be opposed, should they be attempted without a motive. Doubtless, then, on the first intelligence of the invasion, the court of Vienna will hasten a peace with the Turks, or, suddenly providing for defence, will be able to dispatch a detachment of 18,000 men into Italy, and instantly occupy the states of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. *Supposing, however, a successful debarkation and peaceable occupation of the kingdom,* it will be still necessary to keep the fleet at Naples, and all the vessels ready for transport, otherwise the King might be unable to withdraw his troops.

What will the Dutch say to see such an attempt at the time when they appear willing to form a league with Spain, and reconcile the King with the Archduke? What will France say, who offers to induce the maritime powers to secure for Don Carlos the states of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany? What will England say, who knows and promotes such arrangements? Oh, my Lord Duke, these are wild ideas, thus to involve two young and innocent Sovereigns in the utmost distress! In a word, this is leading the world to imagine that

a few mad Italians, from attachment to their native country, have urged the King to the extermination and ruin of Spain.

Without allies, the Catholic King cannot hope to conquer Italy, particularly at a time when he has neither troops, nor money, nor able commanders. With three kingdoms * more disaffected than ever, with a people enraged, with a nobility discontented, finally deprived of all human help; in this state we are not able, according to your Excellency's phrase, to oppose force by force. Lastly, in such an important affair, I want the courage of your Excellency to say, or think, that notwithstanding so many difficulties we should throw ourselves into the hands of Providence, *and trust to the justice of our cause.* This I declared to their Majesties, on the first word with which they honoured me on the subject; and I should be most gratified, *even were the enterprise attended with the most happy result, that the world should know my weak judgment did not approve of it.* I request your Excellency to receive these my crude sentiments, written in haste, to peruse and return them; observing this religious secret, confided to your honour and probity, with the protest, salvo saniore judicio.†

* Catalonia, Valencia, and Arragon.

† I have marked in italics some of the expressions which strike me as proving the whole letter to be a mere trick to shift the responsibility of the war from his own shoulders, and nowise intended to persuade the person to whom it was addressed. The reader will exercise his judgment.

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF THE MARQUIS DE POMBAL.

No. 1.—*The genuine legal Sentence pronounced by the High Court of Judicature of Portugal upon the Conspirators against the Life of his Most Faithful Majesty, with the just motives for the same.*

The preliminary facts are as follow:

IT appears that the Duke of Aveiro had conceived an implacable resentment against the King, for preventing a marriage which he had precipitately adjusted between his son and the sister of the Duke of Cadaval, endeavouring, at the same time, by vexatious artifices, to prevent the Duke, who is a minor, from marrying, in order to secure to his family the possessions and honours of that house; and for defeating several projects to preserve a pernicious influence which he acquired in the latter years of the late reign.

That he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with all persons who were dissatisfied with the government, of what party or condition soever; and therefore, as soon as the Jesuits were dismissed from court, he forgot an inveterate enmity which till then had been implacable against them, invited them to his house, and made them frequently long and secret visits

at their houses, where the death of the King was concerted, the Jesuits declaring, that whoever should kill his Majesty, would not by that act become guilty, even of venial sin.

That the Duke of Aveiro and the Jesuits drew the Marchioness of Tavora into their confederacy, notwithstanding the mutual jealousy between the two houses, and the Marchioness drew in the rest of her family.

That the Marquis of Tavora having entrusted Joseph Romeiro, an old servant, who had attended him to and from the Indies, with the conspiracy, committed to him the care of waiting, with horses ready saddled, where the conspirators were to mount.

That the Duke of Aveiro several times rode and walked with Alvares Ferreira, his late wardrobe-keeper, and Joseph Policarp, Ferreira's brother-in-law, to acquaint them with the carriage in which the King usually rode; that he ordered them to buy two horses, not known, and some unknown arms.

That after the fact, the Duke reproached Alvares, telling him the shot which he discharged did no service; but when he was about to reply, he added, "Hush! for the devil him-"self can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell "him." He then ordered him not to sell the unknown horse he had bought directly, lest it should cause suspicion.

The legal sentence of the court is as follows:

Agreed by the persons of the council and the senate of our Lord the King, &c. After examining the proceedings which, according to the form of law and his Majesty's decrees, were succintly carried on against the criminals, Joseph Mascarenhas, heretofore Duke of Aveiro; Lady Eleanor of Tavora, heretofore Marchioness of that title; Francis-Assizes of Tavora, heretofore Marquis of the said title; Lewis-Bernard of Tavora, heretofore Marquis of the same title; Don Jerome of Ataide, heretofore Count of Atouguia; Joseph Maria of Tavora, heretofore adjutant of the military orders

of the Marquis his father; Blaize-Joseph Romeiro, corporal in the company commanded by the criminal, Lewis-Bernard of Tavora; Antony-Alvares Ferreira; Joseph Policarp de Azevedo; Emanuel Alvares Ferreira, keeper of the wardrobe to the criminal, Joseph Mascarenhas; and John Michael, attending page to the said criminal, Joseph Mascarenhas; together with the rest of the depositions and papers annexed, allegations, articles, and defences made by the said criminals, &c. &c. &c.

I. And whereas it appears fully proved by the confessions of the major part of the said criminals, and by many witnesses, that the Duke of Aveiro had conceived an implacable wrath against our Lord the King, for defeating the schemes with which he had endeavoured to preserve all that pernicious influence which, by means of the authority of his uncle F. Gaspar da Incarnaçaô, he had had during the latter years of the foregoing reign; and for annulling the important commendams, which had been held, as grants for life, by the administrators of the house of Aveiro; and for having put a stop to the marriage which he had hastily adjusted between his son the Marquis of Gouvea, and Lady Margaret de Lorena, immediate sister to the Duke of Cadaval, with the design of making that marriage the means of blending with his own house the illustrious house of Cadaval, the actual lord of which was a minor, liable to the small-pox (fatal to his family), and unmarried.

It further appears, that the said criminal being excited by his malignant spirit, had distinguished himself by his endeavours to gain over all those whom he knew to be unjustly discontented with his Majesty's most happy government; alienating them still more from the royal service by infamously shunning it himself; and running into the infamous extreme of saying, "that for him it was one and the same "thing to be ordered to go to court as to have his legs cut "off:" and giving into the folly of flattering himself, and approving his being told by others, that there was now no

other eminence for him to reach than the throne, by becoming King himself.

It further appears, that notwithstanding the implacable aversion which subsisted between the said Duke of Aveiro and the Jesuits, as soon as ever they were dismissed from receiving the confessions of their Majesties and Royal Highnesses, and universally forbidden all access to court, he artfully patched up a re-union and intimacy with them, paying them frequent, long, and secret visits in all their houses, and receiving them in like manner at his own house.

It further appears, that the execrable effects of that reconciliation were, that all the aforesaid persons linked themselves together, in a conspiracy for contriving the death of the King, the said Jesuits promising indemnity to the said criminal in the execution of that infernal parricide; and giving it as their opinion, that whoever should be the parricide of our said lord would not so much as sin, even lightly.

II. It further appears, that the criminal and the said Jesuits proceeded to the drawing the Marchioness of Tavora into the same detestable confederacy; in which, by their united artifices, they succeeded, notwithstanding that there had constantly existed a declared jealousy between the said Marchioness and the criminal, concerning which should gain the ascendant in ambition and haughtiness; notwithstanding the most stimulating envy with which the said Marchioness was tortured, at seeing the house of the said criminal exalted above her own in honours and wealth; and notwithstanding the said criminal had rendered that hatred still more stinging, by the many and great efforts he had made, while the Marquis, her husband, was absent in India, to deprive him of the copyholds of Margaride, and of the free states of his house.

It further appears, that the Marchioness set herself up for one of the three ringleaders of this barbarous and horrid conspiracy; and, in conjunction with the said Jesuits, set about persuading all their acquaintance that Gabriel Mala-

grida, a member of the society of Jesus, was a man of great self-denial, and a saint; the said Marchioness performing spiritual exercises under his guidance and direction, and shewing that she entirely followed his dictates and counsels, in order to excite aversion and hatred to his Majesty's royal person and most happy government; agreeing that it would be very useful, that our said lord should cease to live, and supporting the sacrilegious insult of the night of the 3d of September of last year, by associating herself immediately with the perfidious and sacrilegious perpetrators of that execrable insu t, and contributing sixteen moidores, in part of the reward which was given to the infamous monsters, who in the aforesaid night fired the scacrilegious shot, which produced those enormous mischiefs which we all deplore.

It further appears, that the said Marchioness having arrogated to herself the despotic direction of all the actions of the Marquis her husband; of her sons; of her daughters; of her son-in-law; of her brothers-in-law; and of other persons; infamously prostituted the authority, which she assumed over them, to the perversion of them all. Using, for the instruments of this infernal work, not only the opinion she affected to have of the pretended sanctity of the afore-named Gabriel Malagrida; but also the letters, which he frequently wrote her, to persuade all her relations to join with him in spiritual exercises.

III. It further appears, that, in consequence of these diabolical previous steps, the first of the followers who miserably plunged himself into the said conspiracy, was the Marquis Francis-Assizes of Tavora, the husband; who personally assisted in one of the ambushes which were infamously laid in that most unfortunate night of the 3d of September, in order that our Lord the King, escaping from any of them, might fall into the others; and contributed twelve moidores towards the infamous reward which fell to the share of the two assassins already mentioned.

IV. It further appears, that the second of the followers

whom the said Marchioness drew into the same infamous conspiracy, was the Marquis Lewis-Bernard of Tavora, her son, who, two days before the perpetration of the sacrilegious insult of the 3d of September, with studious precaution, sent to the stables of the Duke of Aveiro two horses ready bridled and saddled, and covered with their saddle-cloths; and personally assisted at the ambushes which in that most unfortunate night were laid against his Majesty; as also at the family-meeting which was held at the house of the Duke of Aveiro; at which some of the persons present reproached the assassins who fired the sacrilegious shot, for that these had not all their detestable effect; while others flattered themselves, that the said detestable crime had been fully accomplished, if the carriage of our Lord the King had but passed by the place where these barbarous boasters were way-laying him.

V. It further appears, that the third of the followers, whom the said three seditious and detestable ringleaders drew into this infamous conspiracy was Don Jerome of Ataide, Count of Atouguia, son-in-law to the aforesaid Marquis Francis-Assizes, and Lady Eleanor of Tavora; it being proved, that he, with the Countess, his wife, almost every night, assisted at the seditious and abominable cabals which were held in the house of the Marquis and Marchioness, his father and mother-in-law; that he contributed eight moidores towards the most worthless reward of the assassins, who fired the sacrilegious shot; and that he was an associate in the waylayings which were posted against his Majesty.

VI. It further appears, that the fourth follower entangled in this conspiracy, was Joseph Maria of Tavora, adjutant of the military orders of the Marquis of Tavora his father: for it is proved, that this youth was also personally present at the insidious and sacrilegious ambushes so often mentioned; that, in like manner, he was present at the other meetings; and that he was the very person who (alluding to the prodigy of his Majesty's escaping with his life) uttered

those savage and shocking words: "Alas! the man ought not to have escaped."

VII. It further appears, that the fifth follower in the before-mentioned sacrilegious insult, was Blaize-Joseph Romeiro, an old servant of the Marquis and Marchioness of Tavora, who had attended them to and from the Indies, and was now in the service of the Marquis their son; was a corporal in his company, steward of his household, and his grand favourite; by whose confession it was proved, that the said Marquis, Lewis-Bernard of Tavora, not only trusted him with all that passed, but also that the Marquisses, father and son, had given him the charge, under tie of secrecy, to lead the three horses which, in the night of the insult, they ordered to be saddled, armed, and forwarded to the grounds where the said insult was committed, and where he was present when that execrable crime was perpetrated.

VIII. IX. It further appears, that the sixth and seventh followers whom the head of this conspiracy, the Duke of Aveiro, engaged in it, were the criminals, Antony Alvares Ferreira, formerly keeper of the wardrobe to the said Duke, and Joseph Policarp de Azevedo, brother-in-law to the same Antony-Alvares. It being fully proved, that both the said criminals went several times on foot and horseback, in company of the said Duke, in order to become acquainted with the carriage in which his Majesty usually rode; that, for this purpose, he ordered them to buy two horses not known, which the criminal Antony-Alvares did; that he also ordered them to buy unknown arms, which the aforesaid criminal Antony-Alvares did not buy; he, together with his said brother-in-law, making use of one blunderbuss of his own, of another which was borrowed, and of two pistols, which he had borrowed from a foreigner, (under pretext of making trial of them). That the premium which these two most savage criminals received from the Duke was forty moidores; sixteen at one time, four at another, and twenty at another: that immediately after having discharged the said arms on

the back of the carriage, the said Antony-Alvares and his brother-in-law retreated directly to Lisbon: and finally, that the criminal Antony-Alvares, going two days afterwards to the house of the Duke, he reproached him greatly, saying, "That those shot had been of no service;" and uttering (with his finger on his mouth and great serenity) the following words, "Hush! for the devil himself can know nothing of the matter, if thou dost not tell him;" and charging him not to sell the horses directly, that he might not become suspected.

X. It further appears, that the eighth follower whom the Duke de Aveiro drew into his conspiracy, was Emanuel-Alvares Ferreira, who brought to the said Duke the cloaks and wigs with which he disguised himself the night of the insult; who, till the time of his being taken, concealed the knowledge he had of the whole transaction; and who was the very person that, at the country-house of Azeitao, made the resistance, by snatching the sword from the side of the notary, Lewis-Antony de Leiro, when he honourably and resolutely stopped the Duke of Aveiro in the escape he was attempting to make.

XI. It further appears, that the ninth follower was John Michael, attending page, and the grand confidant of the aforesaid Duke: this appearing, by the name of John, to have been in the night of the 3d of September of the last year, one of the associates in the insult in question; and his said master afterwards declaring this very criminal, John Michael, to have been the very identic John, who was associated with him under the arch.

It further appears, that by means of all the confederacies, associations, and assistances above rehearsed, the aforesaid three ringleaders of this conspiracy, and their associates, prepared and executed the most horrid insult of the said night of the 3d of September of last year, in manner following: namely,

That after Joseph Mascarenhas, and Lady Eleanor of Tavora, had settled a most sordid gathering, to which the other associates did also contribute, towards making up the

paltry sum of one hundred and ninety-two milreis, which were the premium given to the two savage and unnatural assassins, Antony-Alvares Ferreira and Joseph Policarp; and after, with the two infamous and savage malefactors aforesaid, the associates in the crime had completed the number of eleven, they all posted themselves on horseback, divided into different parties, or ambuscades, within the little tract of ground which lies between the northern extremity of the houses belonging to the garden called do Meyo, and the opposite southern extremity of the garden called de Cima, through which our lord the King usually returned home, when he had been abroad in a private manner, as was the case the night of the most horrible insult in question; that if his Majesty escaped from the first waylayings, he might not fail of being destroyed by the others which succeeded them.

It further appears, that our said lord having turned the corner of the said northern extremity of the above-mentioned houses belonging to the garden do Meyo, the ringleader of the conspiracy, Joseph Mascarenhas, came forth immediately from the arch which was in that place, and presented against Costodio da Costa, the coachman who drove his Majesty, a blunderbuss, which missing fire, and warning the coachman with the snap and sparks from the flint, obliged him, without declaring to his Majesty what he had seen and heard, to push on the mules, so as to avoid the murder which he apprehended. The miscarriage of this firing was the first of the apparent miracles with which the Divine Omnipotence, in that most fatal night, succoured all these realms, by the preservation of the inestimable life of his Majesty; it being impossible he should have escaped, if, the coachman falling dead with that infamous discharge, our said Lord had remained a prey in the hands of those horrible monsters, who stood armed in so many and such neighbouring ambushes against his most august and precious life.

It further appears, that on account of the hasty pace with

Which the coachman endeavoured to save himself, the two most savage malefactors, Antony-Alvares and Joseph Policarp, who were posted in the ambush, immediately following, could not take a steady aim at the spot against which they should fire. Wherefore galloping after the said carriage, they fired as fast as they possibly could upon the back of the same, the two sacrilegious and execrable shot, which caused in his Majesty's most august and most sacred person, those most grievous and most dangerous wounds and dilacerations, which from the right shoulder along the arm and down to the elbow on the outside, and also on the inner part of the same, occasioned a considerable loss of substance, from the variety of the contusions: six of which went so far as to offend the breast; a great number of slugs being extracted from them all. Whence on one hand is manifestly seen the cruelty with which the slugs were preferred to bullets, in order by that means the more certainly to secure the most fatal purpose of that savage and sacrilegious insult; and on the other, that this was the second of the miraculous works of the Divine Omnipotence in that most unfortunate night, for the common benefit of these realms; for it cannot be in the common order of events, nor cannot be in anywise ascribed to the casualty of accidental occurences, that two charges of slugs, fired out of such pieces, should make their way through the narrow space of a carriage, without totally and absolutely destroying the persons who were in such a carriage. . . . .

It further appears, that this miraculous event was followed by a third, equal to it, or rather greater. For our Lord God making use in that critical conjuncture of his Majesty's heroic courage and unshaken serenity, to manifest his prodigies to us; his Majesty not only bore those unexpected and most torturing mischiefs, without uttering a single word which indicated a complaint; but took the wonderful resolution to order the carriage to return back immediately from where he then was, to the house of the chief surgeon of the kingdom; where, not suffering his wounds to be uncovered till he

had, by the sacrament of penance, first returned thanks to the supreme King of kings, for the preservation of his life from so great a danger, he first confessed at the feet of a minister of the Gospel, and then proceeded with the same silence, serenity, and firmness, to submit to the painful operations necessary towards a cure. By these means his Majesty avoided the perils from the other savage associates in the crime, which he could not have escaped, had he continued the route he was accustomed to take in returning home to his palace.

It further appears, that the aforesaid criminals assembled again the said night; and instead of shewing any symptoms of remorse, boasted of it one with another; the criminal Joseph Mascarenhas, then Duke of Aveiro, beating on the stones the blunderbuss which had missed going off, and saying, in a passion, these infernal words, "Damnation seize thee! when I want thee, thou art of no use to me." The criminal Francis-Assizes expressing some doubt whether his Majesty had perished, the said criminal Joseph Mascarenhas re-assuming the discourse said, "No matter, if he is not dead, he shall die." Another of the associates taking up these words and replying with the most impious threat, "The point is, that if he do but go abroad." And the other criminal Joseph-Maria of Tavora inquiring with great composure after the associate John Michael, who was not as yet arrived. On the day immediately following, in a family meeting, in consequence of the same inflexible obstinacy, savage despair, and deplorable abandonment of all divine graces, they there persisted, some in reproaching the assassins Antony-Alvares and Joseph Policarp, for that they had not aimed their fires in such a manner as to complete all their most mischievous intent; others in boasting, that they should have effectually completed the said execrable intent, had our Lord the King passed by the ambushes where they themselves were posted to waylay him, instead of turning back, as he did, by the descent of Ajuda to Junqueira.

It further appears, that, even, if all the exuberant and conclusive proofs above-rehearsed had really been wanting, the

presumptions of the law, which, condemns the ringleaders and such others as his Majesty shall be pleased to permit, would amply suffice; for whereas all presumptions of the law are held for so many every way uncontrollable proofs, which dispense with the want of every other proof, and lay the person, who has them against him, under the incumbency of producing other contrary proofs, of such strength and efficacy, as may conclusively destroy them; not one only, but many are the presumptions in law, which the said ringleaders of this conspiracy, and principally the criminal Joseph Mascarenhas, heretofore Duke of Aveiro, and the perverted members of the society of Jesus, have against them.

It further appears, in confirmation of the above premises, that whereas the law presumes that he who has been once bad, will be always such, in crimes of the same species with that he has already committed; not one, but many have been the iniquities which these two ringleaders have meditated against the august person and most happy government of our Lord the King, by a series of facts continued from the very commencement of his Majesty's most happy government.

It further appears, with regard to the said Jesuits, that finding themselves, by his Majesty's incomparable penetration, deprived of that despotism in this court, without which they could by no means cover the usurpations they had made in the Portugal dominions in Africa, Asia, and America; and much less palliate the open war, which they had kindled in the north and south of the States of Brazil; they devised the most detestable intrigues against his Majesty's high renown, and the public tranquillity, by various projects of an execrable nature, in order to excite sedition in the very heart of the court and kingdom, and to draw the scourge of war upon the subjects thereof. From all which it follows that the said Jesuits are thereby constituted in the proper terms of the aforesaid rule and presumption of the law; and it would thence suffice, if all other proofs had failed, to convince our minds, that they were afterwards the persons who devised the insult in

question; till they should prove in a conclusive manner, that the criminals guilty thereof were other people.

It further appears, in still fuller confirmation of all that had been said, that at the juncture in which our Lord the King was disconcerting all those wicked devices of the Jesuits, by deposing the royal penitentiaries of that fraternity, and by forbidding to all the members thereof all access to the palace, it was seen on one hand, that instead of being humble, so far did they behave on the reverse, that they openly and undisguisedly went on, increasing in arrogance and pride, publicly bragging, that the more the court threw them off, so much the more the nobility clung to them; threatening the court with divine chastisements, and suggesting, till the very latter end of August, that his Majesty's life would be short; that the month of September would be the final period of it; and Gabriel Malagrida writing to different persons of the court, the said most wretched prognostics, in tone of prophecies: on the other hand, in contradiction of all this, it was seen, that when the criminals guilty of this horrible conspiracy were seized, the tone of the fraternity was suddenly changed; and John Henriques, their provincial, writing to Rome, implores the fathers of their order to recommend them to God, for that all the community were in great affliction; that the public involved them in the insult of September 3d, and sentenced them to imprisonments, exiles, and a total expulsion from the court and kingdom; that they were in the greatest straits, in the utmost calamity, full of dreads and frights, without any consolation, and without any hopes thereof, &c. There result from these two contradictory extremes of writing this plain demonstration; that, before the said insult, they confided in the conspiracy, which emboldened them to speak and write with so much temporal haughtiness, and with so much spiritual arrogance, and in a tone of fatal and sacrilegious prophecy, and that after the discovery, all that chimerical structure of pride and arrogance necessarily sunk into that abject

faint-heartedness, which is indispensibly annexed to the conviction of guilt, and the want of means to cover and support the dissimulation with which it was commited.

With regard to the other ringleader, Don Joseph Mascarenhas, that he also would be found under the same presumptions of the law, even had there been nothing more against him: for it is notorious that from the time of the decease of our late Lord the King, Don John V. to the present, he was author of the innumerable intrigues and cabals with which he filled the court of our Lord the King, in order to surprise his Majesty, and obstruct his resolutions, as well in the courts of judicature as in the cabinet, by means of the faction of his uncle F. Gaspar da Incarnaçaõ, and of his own party, in such manner as that neither truth might approach the presence of our said Lord, nor any resolutions be taken, which were not obreptitious, subreptitious, and founded on false and captious informations. And as to the presumption that he was the person who committed the execrable insult in question, it will suffice to reflect, that both before and after it, he acted the very same part, which was acted by the Jesuits; his pride and arrogance before it were generally scandalous; but after it had failed of producing the horrible effect, all that pride and arrogance sunk into confusion and dread, shunning the court, and retiring to his country-seat at Azeitato, where he was seized, after attempting to save himself, first by flight, and then by an ill-judged resistance.

With regard to Lady Eleanor of Tavora, heretofore Marchioness of that title, the third ringleader, it is notorious, that her diabolical spirit of pride and insatiable ambition was sufficient to excite her into the greatest insults. Instigated by those blind and ardent passions, she had the boldness (along with her husband) to offer a remonstrance to our Lord the King, for him to be made a Duke, notwithstanding his insignificant services had been fully requited with the promotions he had obtained in India; and that there was no precedent in the chanceries of the realm, of any person of his post being promoted to that title; yet both the said criminals,

without consideration or shame, were incessantly persecuting the secretary of state for domestic affairs for that promotion; insomuch, that in order to check those importunities, it became necessary to make them comprehend, in a polite and decent manner, that their pretensions had no precedent to support it: this proved the foundation of that passion, with which the said Marchioness went and reconciled herself with the Duke of Aveiro, in order to obtain by his favour, with the ruin of majesty and monarchy, that Ducal title which her vehement ambition had inflamed her with. However, all that pride, ambition, and haughtiness, which she had exerted till the fatal epoch of the execrable insult of the 3d of September last, did, after the said insult, fall spiritless into manifest confusion and dismay.

All which considered, and the rest contained in the process, this tribunal, to the end that it might proportion the penalties deserved by these infamous and sacrilegious criminals as much as possible to their execrable and most scandulous crimes—

"They condemn the criminal Joseph Mascarenhas (who is already unnaturalized, divested of the honours and privileges of a Portuguese, and of those of a vassal and servant; degraded of the order of St. Jago, of which he was a commendatory; and resigned up to this tribunal and to the lay justice, which is therein administered) to the punishment, that he, as one of the three heads or chief ringleaders of this infamous conspiracy, and of the abominable insult which resulted from it, be conveyed with a halter about his neck, and proclamation of his crimes, to the square upon the quay of the town of Belem; and that there, upon a high scaffold, which shall be sufficiently elevated for his punishment to be visible to the whole people, whom the scandal of his most horrible crime has offended, after he has been broken alive, by the fracture of the eight bones of his legs and arms, he be exposed on a wheel, for the satisfaction of the present and future vassals of this realm; and that, after this execution being done, the same criminal be burnt alive, with the said

scaffold on which he was executed, till all be reduced into ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, that there may be no more notice taken of him or his memory: and though, as a criminal guilty of the abominable crimes of rebellion, sedition, high treason, and parricide, he be already condemned by the tribunal of military orders, to the confiscation and forfeiture of all his real and personal estate to the use of the crown, as has been practised in those cases, wherein the crime of high treason of the first rate has been committed; nevertheless, considering this as having been a case so unexpected, so unusual, and so extravagantly horrible and unthought-of by the laws, that not even they have provided for, nor can there be found therein a punishment proportionable to its exorbitant foulness; therefore from this motive our said Lord was entreated in the consultation of this court, and his Majesty was pleased, in conformity to its request, to grant it the ample jurisdiction, to establish all the punishments, which should be settled by a plurality of votes over and above those which by the laws, and the dispositions of law, are already established: and considering that the punishment, the most conformable to equity, is that of erasing and obliterating, by every means, every memorial of the name and remembrance of such enormous criminals; they also condemn the same criminal, not only in the penalties of the common law, that his arms and achievements, wherever placed, be pulled down, and rent in pieces; and that the houses and material edifices of his abode be demolished, and erased in such sort, there may not a sign of them remain, being reduced to a wild, and covered with salt; but also, that all effective houses or estates by him enjoyed, in those parts thereof, which have been established in properties of the crown, or have issued from thence, be confiscated, and from this time forward forfeited, with effectual reversion, and reincorporation in the said crown, from whence they derived, &c. The same they order to be observed, with respect to the copyholds of any kind whatever, with the proviso established, concerning the sale thereof in benefit of the

lords of the manors. With regard to the other entailed estates, settled with the patrimony of the entailers, they declare that the statutes are to be observed, in benefit of those who ought to succeed to them."

They condemn to the same pains the criminal Francis Assizes of Tavora, and ordain that no persons whatever shall use the surname of Tavora, on pain of confiscation and outlawry.

They condemn the two savage monsters, Antonio Alvares Ferreira and Joseph Policarp, who fired the two sacrilegious shot, to be conveyed with halters about their necks to the great square; and that being there exalted on two posts, fire be set to them, which shall consume them alive, till their bodies be reduced to ashes and powder, which shall be thrown into the sea, their dwelling-houses erased, and their names blotted out. But the criminal Joseph Policarp, having absconded, a power is given to any body to seize and kill him, and a reward of ten thousand crusados is offered for bringing him, dead or alive, before the senator of the palace; or twenty thousand, if taken in a foreign country.

They condemned the criminals, Lewis Bernard of Tavora, Don Jerome of Ataide, Joseph Maria of Tavora, Blaize Joseph Romeiro, John Michael, and Emanuel Alvares, to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with halters about their necks, to be first strangled, and afterwards to have the eight bones of their legs and arms broken, and their bodies to be reduced by fire into powder, and thrown into the sea, &c. with confiscation and forfeiture of goods, &c. to the use of the crown, demolition, erasement, and salting of their dwelling-houses, and pulling down and defacement of arms and achievements.

And the criminal, Lady Eleanor of Tavora, for certain just considerations, they condemn only to be conveyed to the same place of execution, with a halter about her neck, and there to be beheaded, her body reduced to powder by fire, and thrown also into the sea, &c. with extinction of memory, and all other confiscations.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

The Proceedings and Sentence of the Spiritual Court of Inquisition of Portugal, against Gabriel Malagrida, Jesuit, for heresy, hypocrisy, false prophecies, impostures, and various other heinous crimes: together with the Sentence of the Lay Court of Justice, passed on him the 20th day of September, 1761, and published in Lisbon by authority.

THE inquisitors, ordinary and deputies of the Holy Inquisition, unanimously agree: That they have viewed these proceedings, and had full cognisance of the crimes, declarations, and retractions of Father Gabriel Malagrida, religious of the society called Jesus, native of Menajo, a town belonging to the bishoprick of Como, in the Duchy of Milan, but actually residing in this capital; being the very criminal under confinement actually standing at the bar of this court:

Whereby it is evident, that the aforesaid criminal was and is a baptized Christian, a priest, divine, and missioner, and in these united characters especially bound to hold and believe the holy Catholic faith, as preached by the blessed Apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Sovereign good, and as taught and delivered to us by our holy mother the Roman Catholic Church, the parent and guide of all Catholics, and the undeviating oracle of true doctrines; against which the gates of hell and ministers of Satan cannot prevail:—bound, not only to shun and flee from all innova-

tions contrary to the Gospel, but also to preach and teach both by word and writing sound and orthodox doctrine; without presuming to pervert any passages of the divine writings with arbitrary interpretations of his own, contrary to the dictates of the Church and sense of the fathers:—bound (instead of stirring up and fomenting mischievous seditions through a diabolical spirit of pride and discord) rather to exert himself in promoting the union of Christians in the bands of perfect charity, and in all due subjection to their true and lawful superiors:—and finally bound to copy after those pious aspirers to Christian virtue, whose advances towards perfection were made through the paths of humility, by many labours borne with that abundant patience which is inculcated to us in the sacred Scriptures by Christ himself; who, God as he really was, disdained not to humble himself to the becoming man, and taking upon him our sins, that, lightening us of them, he might open us the entrance to a blessed eternity: and though he himself was all innocence, yet did he deign to tutor us, not only by word of mouth, but even by his own divine practice, how to bear the tribulations of this life, which to us are the fruits of our own guilt and misdeeds: still leaving us withal in his Gospel the certain marks, whereby we might distinguish and guard against the hypocrisy of those false prophets, who try to deceive us under the disguise of sheep of his fold, as our Saviour expresses it in St. Matthew, chapter vii. "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces: a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos."*

Nevertheless, thus bound, as the criminal was, to conform himself to the counsels and precepts of the Gospel, and to listen to Christ speaking in the voice of his Church and

* Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Ver. 15, 16.

ministers; he acted so much on the reverse, that, totally regardless of every duty of a Christian and a religious man, he gave ear to the suggestions of Satan; who, bent upon his ruin and the utter destruction of his soul, was hurrying him on to perdition.

For the criminal aforesaid, puffed up with that pride and influence, which made him in his own conceit superior in merit to the rest of mankind, took upon him to counterfeit miracles, revelations, visions, celestial confabulations, and many more of those heavenly favours which God is at times pleased to bestow on such of his faithful servants as (according to St. Paul, Ephesians ii.) build upon the doctrine and foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, whereof Jesus Christ himself is the chief and corner stone: "In quo omnis constructio crescit in templum sanctum in Domino." *

And as the criminal, by means of an hypocrisy and artifice carried to the most refined extreme, had so far gained his point, as to be taken for a saint and a prophet in good earnest, by such persons, as the Almighty permitted to want the sense to discern the basis on which the fabric of his affected sanctity was raised and kept up; he carried on the farce so far, that he became at length a very monster of the most enormous iniquity. For, not content, or easy, with having gulled great multitudes of the people of these dominions out of immense sums, under the cloak of devotion and the pretext of pious uses, by means of a variety of fictions and impostures; he proceeded to puke forth and spread abroad the horrible venom brewed in his heart; and presumed to prophesy certain fatal events, which he well knew were hatching and contriving in this capital for the mischievous purposes, which afterward were most happily brought to light and made public.

And desirous at the same time of keeping up his credit and

* In whom all the buildings, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord. Ver. 21.

the reputation for sanctity he had already acquired, the better to authorise his counterfeit revelations of future chastisements, he had recourse to the most unheard-of doctrines, full of heresy and blasphemy; which he broached in a multitude of rash, seditious, and impious propositions, shocking to every pious ear. And these he not only spoke, but wrote, and persisted in maintaining at the very council-board of the Holy Office: where he asseverred, that, "they were dictated to him by our Lord God, by the blessed Virgin Mary, and by the Angels and Saints of Heaven; who (as he pretended) all talked to him, and familiarly communed with him:" carrying his infatuation to such a length, as to possess himself with the persuasion, that these means, so unworthy of a Christian (though the pure fictions of the criminal's own malicious brain), were the most suitable ones towards extricating him from the troubles into which he had plunged himself; towards restoring his society to their former state; and towards creating a general panic in persons of all degrees throughout this court and kingdom, to whom he bore that inbred hatred, which the course of these proceedings and his own declarations will render manifest.

Of all which ample information was brought to the council-board of the inquisition. And at the same time were also delivered in to the said board, two written treatises, both entirely of the criminal's hand-writing: the one written in Portuguese, and entitled, "The heroic and wonderful Life of the glorious St. Anne, Mother of the blessed Virgin Mary, dictated by the same Saint, with the assistance, approbation, and concurrence of the same Sovereign Lady and her most holy Son:" the other in Latin with this title, "Tractatus de vita et imperio Antichristi;"* both produced to the criminal in the inquisition, and by him acknowledged to be his own.

Now these two treatises, upon inspection and examination,

* A treatise concerning the Life and Empire of Antichrist.

were found to contain, among others, the following assertions, o wit:—that "Saint Anne was sanctified in her mother's womb, in the same manner as the B. Virgin Mary was sanctified in the womb of Saint Anne:—That the privilege of sanctification in the maternal womb had been granted only to St. Anne and to Mary her daughter:—That St. Anne, in the womb of her mother, understood, knew, loved, and served God in the same manner as the saints do, who are wrapt up in glory:—That St. Anne, in the womb of her mother, wept and made the Cherubims and Seraphims her attendants weep also out of pure compassion:—That St. Anne, while yet in her mother's womb, made vows; and lest any one of the three persons of the B. Trinity should be jealous of her regard for the others; she made the vow of poverty to the Eternal Father, the vow of obedience to the Eternal Son, and the vow of chastity to the Holy Ghost.

"That St. Anne was the most innocent creature that ever came forth from the hands of God:—That it was evident she had never sinned in Adam:—That she had entered into the marriage-state for the sake of being more chaste, more pure, more a virgin, and more innocent:—That St. Anne, while in a mortal state, interceded with God in behalf of the angelic choirs amidst their glory, that he would help and enable them to improve in the service and praise of his Divine Majesty.

"That Christ was not able to find any expressions sufficient to give us an idea of the greatness of the gifts he had bestowed upon St. Anne:—That the bare sighs of the same saint had acquired the force to kindle new and unusual flames in the very breast of God himself:—That virtue and sanctity were more easy to propagate than vice;—That even if Adam had always lived uprightly and never fallen into any mortal sin; he would nevertheless have been always a miserable slave, and wretchedly weak and ignorant.

"That he (the criminal) had heard the Eternal Father speak with his clear and distinct voice; and had heard the Eternal

Son speak with his clear and distinct voice; and had heard the Holy Ghost speak with his clear and distinct voice:—That the family of Saint Anne, besides gentlemen and children, consisted of twenty slaves; twelve men and eight women:—That St. Joachim followed the trade of a mason, and lived in Jerusalem with Saint Anne; and that she was the woman of fortitude of whom Solomon spoke, who was himself under a mistake with regard to her, she being of his own nation, and even born of his blood.

"That St. Anne had founded a spiritual retreat in Jerusalem for three-and-sixty women of a retired life; in order to accomplish which, the angels had put on the disguise of carpenters:—And that for the support of those women, one of their company, whose name was Martha, used to go and buy fish, and sell it about the town to advantage:—That some of the women of St. Anne's retreat married in pure obedience to God; who had decreed *ab æterno*, that those happy maidens, thus carefully brought up by St. Anne, should be greater saints than the generality of saints, nay than most of the Apostles and disciples of Christ:—That one of them has married to Nicodemus; another to St. Matthew; another to Joseph of Arimathea; and that from the marriage of another was born St. Linus, successor to St. Peter:—And that Christ puts on many shapes, and assumes various characters, with those whom he raises to the highest contemplation; and grants one or several directors from heaven to such souls as aspire to perfection.

"Farther, he asserts in the same treatise, that the B. Virgin Mary delivered to him the following doctrine:—That the souls of worldlings, or the souls which aim no higher than to the observance of the commandments, are tempted only by devils; but those which aspire to perfection, and which God is more earnestly desirous of advancing to the state of passive contemplation, are tempted indeed in the beginning by the devil; yet, when once they have given good proof of their fidelity, they are made to know, that there is in reality a new kind of profession in the Church, consisting in the sublime

contemplation of the divine mysteries, and in the revelation of things hidden *a constitutione mundi*: * and then God and the B. Virgin Mary take such souls into their special care; throwing them into such gloomy depths and heavy temptations, that they know not which way to turn themselves:—That, however, when souls are once arrived to this state, the devils take their farewel of them for ever; and yet the souls themselves are not therefore exempt from still undergoing attacks and struggles of the most virulent kinds; nay, they are even still assailed with apparitions of devils, and those of the most unclean and malignant sorts; who disturb them with falsehoods, snares, and distresses in various shapes; nay, and with profanities and obscenities. But nevertheless their tempters are not real devils. On the contrary, they are holy souls, and some of the most eminent in glory; nay, some of them are of the purest angels, and extremely fond of those very souls; and therefore they are so far from being ashamed of performing such offices to them, that they glory in so doing; since their motive, in thus playing the part of tempters and devils, is to make a complete conquest of them, and to help them to fill up the sooner the measure of mortifications and struggles which God himself has laid upon them as a tax, in order to admit them afterwards to the communication of his divine secrets."

Besides these tenets he wrote also the following ones, as communicated to him by revelation, to wit:—

"That the divine nature is divided between the three persons of the Blessed Trinity:—That the B. Virgin Mary, when in the womb of St. Anne, uttered these words: 'Consolare mater mea amantissima, quia invenisti gratiam apud Dominum: ecce concipies et paries filiam, et vocabitur nomen ejus Maria: et requiescet super eam spiritus Domini et obumbrabit; et concipiet in ea, et ex ea, filium altissimi,

* From the foundation of the world.

qui salvum faciet populum suum." * And in the same w[illegible] he assevers with an oath, that 'the same Blessed Lady [illegible] revealed this to him; and that withal there was a festival kept in the celestial paradise for eight days together on account of this first event, namely, the utterance of these miraculous words.' "

He also assevers, as matter of revelation which had been made to him, that "God had told him not to make any scruple of aggrandising the Blessed Virgin 'usque ad excessum et ultra;' † nor to be afraid of using and applying to her the very attributes, which were peculiar to his own divine being, namely, immense, infinite, eternal, and almighty.

"That the sacred body of Christ was formed of a drop of the blood of the B. Virgin's heart:—That it grew by little and little by the help of his mother's aliment, till it became perfectly organised and capable of receiving the soul; but that the divinity and personality of the Word had already been united to that drop of blood in the very instant when it passed from the heart to the immaculate womb of the Virgin:—That the three divine persons had had various consultations, debates, and opinions about the manner in which St. Anne should be treated:—That the holy city shewn to the Evangelist and beloved disciple, when he said, 'vidi civitatem sanctam, Jerusalem Novam, descendentem de cælo a Deo, paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo,' ‡ ought to be considered as a filthy and loathsome dunghill in comparison with the soul of St. Anne.

* Be comforted, dearest mother; because thou hast found favour with the Lord: behold thou shalt conceive and bring forth a daughter, and her name shall be called Mary; and the spirit of the Lord shall light upon her and overshadow her; and he shall conceive within her and of her the Son of the Most High, who shall save his people.

† Even to excess and beyond it.

‡ I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for a husband. Rev. ch. xxi. v. 2.

"That St. Anne had a sister called St. Baptistina, who told on the criminal that the B. Virgin was still with her parents, when the Archangel Gabriel brought her word that she was to be mother of God; and that the Virgin, humbling herself, applied in prayer to the Eternal Father to intercede for her, that she might still continue a poor and lowly slave;—that nevertheless being finally convinced that she must be mother of God, she fell on the floor in a swoon, which caused the angel some trouble; who lifting her up with great reverence, entreated her to accept of that dignity: a banquet, which the angels and archangels had prepared, being kept in the mean time in suspense, till our lady gave her consent:—that after the incarnation of the Divine Word, the holy Virgin was espoused to St. Joseph, St. Anne being then about fifty years old:—and that the B. Virgin was an actual inhabitant of Jerusalem, when she losed her divine son, and found him in the temple after three days; for that he had absented himself from her all that time to go and assist at the death of St. Anne.

He assevers moreover, that "the B. Virgin Mary commanding him to write the life of Antichrist had told him, that he the criminal was another John, posterior to John (the Evangelist), but far clearer and more copious:" And going on with that treatise, he therein declares, as matter revealed to him, that "there are to be three Antichrists, according to the sense in which the Scriptures ought to be taken, namely, Father, Son, and Grandson; the latter of which three is to be born in Milan, of a friar and a nun, in the year 1920, and is to marry Proserpine, one of the furies of hell.

"That Antichrist is to be baptized by his mother; and that the devil, who will think himself his father, will only know of his being baptized after it is done, and that through the indiscreet confession of his mother:—That the bare name of Mary, without any good works, has been the salvation of several creatures:—That Antichrist's mother is to be saved on account of her bearing that name, and out of respect for

the convent of which she will be a nun:—That the Jesuits are to found a new empire for Christ, by the discovery of new and populous nations of Indians:—That a lukewarm and imperfect religious surpasses in merit a fervent and perfect secular;—And that no man was ever born to exercise any of the offices necessary to ecclesiastical or political government.

Moreover, in his aforesaid treatise concerning Antichrist he says, that "in the night of the twenty-ninth of November of last year he heard the following words: 'Hâc nocte, id est brevi, et inopinato interitu, de medio tollemus principem tam iniquæ criminationis cum adjutoribus et adulatoribus suis.'"*

With these and other such assertions injurious to persons of all spheres, and equal in badness to those of the most depraved heresiarchs, the criminal aforesaid wanted to give an air of divine authority to his pretended revelations, and the sanction of orthodoxy to his said tenets and writings, which he had the petulancy to defend, even after the charitable advices given him by the ministers of the church.

In consequence of all these excesses, the criminal aforesaid being brought to the prison of the inquisition, he told the board with great pride and insolence, very foreign to the Spirit of God, that "he had no faults to charge himself with; and nevertheless, though he had been brought to the inquisition with great care and privacy, without his knowing whither they were conveying him; as our Lord God had told him, that he was now in the inquisition and would be called next day to the board, and appear before a competent tribunal; and that in the same hour (when it would be necessary) he should be free from certain pains in the head and bowels

* This night, that is shortly, and with a sudden death, we will cut off the prince who is the author of so unjust a defamation,† together with his ministers and sycophants.

† The defamation here alluded to is the brief account which his M. F. M. gives of the seditious proceedings of the Portuguese Jesuits in his memorial to Pope Benedict XIV.

occasioned by the night-air, which in fact was come to pass; therefore he now acquainted the court, that, having been informed that our Lord the King was taking the Missions out of the hands of the religious of the society, to the detriment of the barbarians, both converted and unconverted, he became apprehensive of some grievous harm befalling the person of his Majesty, notwithstanding his being fully persuaded that he acted with no bad intention; wherefore, when he was sent to Setubal, being touched with sympathetic grief for this kingdom, he applied to our Lord God to intercede in favour of the King's person, and for the good of his state: and then his heart was spoken to and told to seek some means of giving his Majesty notice of an imminent danger which was on the point of befalling him; and therefore sensible that he was bound in conscience so to do, he had tried every means to caution the King, but could not succeed. Hence he had recourse both to public and private penances and prayers; which in fact were heard at the divine tribunal; and our Lord God, on account of them, mitigated the chastisement of the said King, as was afterwards revealed to the exponent."

He added, that "being afterwards unjustly imprisoned as chief of the conspiracy, he had set about writing, by order of God himself and of our B. Lady, the life of St. Anne, and another work concerning the life and empire of Antichrist; which works were found in his possession; and that he knew, that for having written these he was now confined in the inquisition, as a hypocrite guilty of counterfeiting false revelations and virtues he was not possest of."

He declared farther, that "a year ago our Lord told him, that he was not quite satisfied with the injuries which this exponent suffered; and therefore that, in order to resemble his pattern Jesus Christ, the same exponent must suffer still more, by being brought to the inquisition loaded with calumnies." To this he added, that, "he the exponent being

asked, if he was willing to imitate him, and he, the said exponent, on account of the discredit thence resulting to his order, shewing some reluctance to the passing for guilty; he was answered, that he must even undergo the further affliction of seeing himself out of that order, which was now come to pass: For in the very prison he was actually confined to, Jesus Christ reminded him of what he had before told him. Nay, at the very council-board he heard and received intelligence of the past. Since there also he was actually told *ab alto*,* that in Portugal the society was no more, being torn to pieces by a sentence made public throughout the world; which he thought extremely hard: But he could not help being somewhat alarmed by certain voices which were then actually in his ears: All which, however, together with himself, he submitted to the church, for fear of illusions."

Some time after, the criminal petitioning to be again heard, he declared to the board, that "Our Lord God had commanded him to come to the board, and there tell the reasons he had for believing that his revelations were true ones; and they were these which follow:—First, because they contained nothing against any articles of faith, or against the common sentiment of the fathers:—Secondly, because they were accompanied with prayer and the exercise of all the virtues; for that from the beginning he had daily had two hours' mental prayer, which he had afterwards increased to four, and now latterly to eight, by God's express order, having for his director the venerable Father Segneri:† —Thirdly, because he the exponent lived a penitent and mortified life, abstaining from all flesh, fish, and eggs, as also from wine; for though God formerly allowed him a small quantity of wine, he had now wholly taken it from him; ordering him withal to take no more than half his usual portion of bread,

* From above.

† A Jesuit who has been dead a great number of years.

and to leave the rest for the poor:—Fourthly, because Father Segneri had told him, that it was impossible God should forget the many troubles this exponent has gone through, and the many services the same exponent has done him: And the criminal farther affirmed, that God compared him to St. Francis Xaverius, which he pretended to have mentioned with great reluctance, and only because the Lord commanded him to do it, declaring to him, that he had chosen him for his ambassador, apostle, and prophet:—Fifthly, because those revelations, visions, and divine confabulations, had infused into him a great desire of suffering and dying for God, together with such an inflamed love of the Lord, as had already united him to him in an habitual union:—Sixthly, because of the admirable and heavenly doctrine which God taught him; and because the B. Virgin Mary had vouchsafed to tell him, that she had adopted him for her son, on account of its being the good pleasure of Jesus Christ and of the whole B. Trinity, that she should do so:—Seventhly, because he had a great desire to relieve the souls in purgatory, as had been ordered him *ab alto*; insomuch that at times he was ordered to recite forty rosaries, the performance of which obliged him to pass whole nights with but one or two hours' sleep, a thing not to be naturally done; But the Lord had told him, that his (the exponent's) life was one continued miracle and work of his omnipotence. For all which reasons, and forasmuch as God had moreover given him to know, that it was the archangel Raphael, and his guardian angel, that had conveyed him safe over a lake of four hundred palms width, he assevered that his revelations were divine beyond all doubt." Adding also, that, "in the very instant in which he was making this declaration, God was speaking with sensible sounds these express words.—'Hæc sunt signa apostolatûs et legatiónis tuæ: quæ quidem signa superabundantia sunt ad probandum intentum, scilicèt, te esse legatum a me specialitèr delectum ad manifestándam voluntatem meam tàm Barbaris quàm Catholicis: quod si fortè apud judices tuos, ministros meos,

non reputentur sufficientia, descendes ad narranda majora miracula."*

The criminal now being informed by the judge who conducted his trial, that no credit was given to his impostures and affected sanctity, as being void of the qualities inseparable from true godliness, he added, that, "in the state of Brazil, a certain ship being in great danger by the breaking of its main cable, all the people on board gathered about the exponent, and conjured him to beg our Lady of the Missions to save them from the extreme peril they were in: whereupon, he recurring to our Lady, they were delivered: a like miracle to which, he wrought also at the bar of Lisbon.

"Likewise that our Most Serene Lady the Queen Mother, Donna Mary Anne of Austria, being sick, his spirit had obliged him to tell her that she was dying, in opposition to the opinion of the physicians; who assured her, some that she would live, others that she was actually mending: which prediction and prophecy was verified and certain."

Moreover he declared, that "he had delivered some sick persons out of danger, on their asking his prayers; and had in like manner secured succession to some families in this kingdom: In particular, one person having promised him six hundred milreis for our Lady of the Missions, obtained of our said Lady the desired heir; but the heir being afterwards in danger of dying, on account of the dilatoriness committed in fulfilling the promise (no more than two hundred milreis being thitherto paid) the said person applied to him again with fresh entreaties; and the heir was then effectually delivered from danger and all complaints by the prayers of the exponent. And farther that, at the entreaties of another person, and in

* Those are the signs of thy apostleship and embassy; which signs are abundantly more than enough to prove the purpose, namely, that thou art my ambassador especially dispatched to manifest my will, as well to Pagans as to Catholics: But if they should not be deemed sufficient by thy judges, my ministers, thou shalt stoop to the declaring still greater miracles.

consideration of another promise, he obtained, *præter totam spem*,† an heir to a magistrate already in years: The consequence of which was, that bad tongues gave out, that the boy was none of his own."

Upon which the criminal was admonished in a charitable manner, and exhorted to see into and make an acknowledgment of his crimes, not to draw upon himself both temporal punishments and those eternal chastisements which are the just reward of all violators of the law of God, but more especially of those who seek the esteem of the world by means of such hypocrisy; and withal he was bid to reflect, that being as yet in the world, he was still in the way either to earn or to forfeit those recompences which God reserves not only for his more favourite servants, but even for every sinner who repents of his crimes, and perseveres in his repentance till death; a period, which, considering his age, he could not naturally expect to be very far off.

But to this he answered, that "he was no hypocrite, and was so far from making use of fiction, that he wished, if his manner of living was at all counterfeit, God might strike him dead with a flash of lightning in the very place where he then stood at the tribunal of his church: To which tribunal he subjected his revelations, writings, and papers in general, to undergo any censure they should be found to deserve; for that he was willing to die in the bosom of the same church, in which he had always believed, and for which he had often exposed his life."

He said moreover and protested upon oath, that "he had many times conversed with St. Ignatius, St. Francis Borgias, St. Bonaventure, St. Philip Neri, St. Charles Borromæus, St. Teresa, and many more saints; as also with Father Segneri, and several other persons deceased; one of whom was a certain religious of his own society, who came to return him thanks

† Contrary to all expectation.

for being released from the pains of purgatory, in which he had been detained for keeping in his chamber, though with leave of the superiors, several presents, which he purposed to apply to the library." To this he farther added that, "in order to wipe off all infamy from his order, he begged an inquiry might be made into the number of pious foundations he had made with the produce of the great quantity of jewels and gold given to our Lady of the Missions by the faithful of America in thanksgiving for the many favours and miracles wrought by our said Lady in their behalf; which Lady had often and with sensible sounds told him the exponent, that she took him under her protection, to help him in all his works, being herself the true foundress of them all."

He declared moreover, that "our Lord God had commanded him to shew to the board of inquisition, that he was no hypocrite, as the enemies of his society gave out; some of whom had died within a few days past, as he the criminal had been informed by revelation. And that for this reason he now declared, that one midnight, upon hearing certain noises, he asked the keeper of the prison what news there was, and what noise that was which had been heard: To which the keeper answered, that it may-be it was the bell at the convent of the Carms, that had been tolling for some woman in labour, as it often does on the like occasion. But he still continuing to hear the same noises, was then told *ab alto*,* that it was for the death of our Lord the King. And this was again repeated to him two days afterwards, at a time when the bells of the steeples had given over tolling" To all which he added, that, "if the inquisitor who was then trying him, would be pleased to refresh his memory, and reflect on the petition he had some time ago presented, he would see, that the exponent's zeal for the Monarch's safety (whom he wanted to be acquainted by the tribunal of the inquisition with his (the

* From above.

said exponent's) sincerity was his only reason for desiring his said petition to be forthwith dispatched."

Now this having happened exactly at the time of the death of the Marquis of Tancos, who commanded the troops at Lisbon and in Estremadura; it was plainly concluded, that the criminal having taken it into his head that the tollings from the steeples and the uncommon discharges from the fortresses were certainly on account of the King's death; on this single foundation he feigned the aforesaid revelation out of the malice of his own brain."

But farther, instead of benefiting by the repeated charitable admonishments given him to lay aside his impostures, and to make a sincere acknowledgment of such of his misdemeanors as belonged to the cognizance of the holy office of inquisition, he went on assevering, that "he was absolved by Christ himself from all guilt and punishment;" and that "he could not guess, why his sincerity and sworn declarations were not believed, when credit had been given to the revelations of some (even female) servants of God, who had not suffered so much as he had done, nor rendered greater services: one of whom was the venerable sister, Mary of Jesus, of Aggreda."

To this he added, that, "in the very night preceding his present declaration, he the criminal had had an intellectual vision of the pains which the soul of his Majesty was suffering: and he had also heard the reprimands which were given him by some devout souls, in the words by him expressed, for the persecutions he had practised against the society: That the persons, who had concurred for the extirpation of his order, were to undergo also the same, or other such like chastisements; and that there was no deceit in these matters, because they came to pass in a person, to whom by special privilege the B. Virgin Mary gave absolution every day in the following form:—

"Dominus Noster Jesus Christus Filius meus te absolvat:

et ego auctoritate ipsius te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis et pœnis: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti.'

He said farther (breaking out with most vehement oaths and imprecations of curses on himself, therein staking his eternal salvation), that his revelations were true ones; and that he had written the life of St. Anne and the treatise concerning the empire of Antichrist, and predicted chastisements therein, by the express order of God himself, who with sensible sounds told him these express words:—'Nisi hæc scripseris, non habebis partem mecum in regno meo: Projiciam te a facie mea:'"† And that "by the same means he had been acquainted, that a tragedy of his composing, in which he made Esther, Mordochai, and Haman persons of the drama, was a real prophecy of what was to happen in Portugal to the persecutors of his order; some of whom were already dead, others reserved for future chastisement; and that his order would shortly be restored to its former lustre, as a voice *ab alto* was then actually telling him; assevering farther, (without any regard to the sacred laws of charity, or to the respect and reverence due to sovereigns) that he had once been told, in two verses, the following words:—

'Impie Rex! bini tantùm tua tempora menses;
Longa sed ad pœnas tempora Virgo ‡ dabit.'§

* Our Lord Jesus Christ my Son absolve thee: And I by his authority do absolve thee from all thy sins and penalties; In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

† Unless thou write these things, thou shalt have no share with me in my kingdom: I will cast thee out from my presence.

‡ The sign Virgo, one of the twelve signs of the zodiac; which begins in August and ends in September, including the 3d day, so very memorable in Portugal.

§ Fell Prince! two moons || elapsed, thy life shall close,
And Virgo plunge thee into lasting woes.

|| The epoch of this impious prophecy is the beginning of July, 1759, the space from thence to the ever-memorable 3d of September making just two months.

To which he added, that "he was confident, God would bye-and-bye permit him to reveal what he already knew concerning the situation of the soul of the King now deceased."

Likewise, he declared, that "the Marchioness of Tavora had often appeared to him; and that upon his reprimanding her for having joined in an impious and sacrilegious excess, contrary to the promise she had made him not to offend God with any mortal sin; the said Marchioness had answered him, that her misery had been originally occasioned by the cursed and unjust depriving the society of the power of hearing confessions: For that, for want of their directions, she grew gradually lukewarm in the purpose she had made in her exercises of going once a week to the sacraments; and had ruined herself by joining with her husband in the execution of that thoughtless affair:' However, though she was now in purgatory, she was free from the pains thereof, through the prayers and good works which the exponent had performed for her."

Here again the criminal was admonished and exhorted to cast off his hypocrisy and lay aside his impostures; for that his pretended revelations deserved no sort of credit, being false, fictitious, and contrary to all the principles of mystic divinity; and he was at the same time told that he the said criminal was therein only copying after other hypocrites; who are so much the more bloated with arrogance, as they are void of all charity and bare of all humility: Since in fact he himself was actually injuring the very person of the King (who to the unspeakable comfort of his faithful subjects was still happily alive), and was in that very act violating the most sacred dictates of the divine law, by the rage he gave vent to, as well against his Majesty, as against the persons he considered as persecutors of his order: Whereas he should attend to the words of St. Paul to the Romans, enjoining us to speak well even of our real persecutors:—'Benedicite persequentibus vos: Benedicite, et noli[illegible] maledicere.'* And finally he was re-

* Bless them who persecute you; Bless and curse not.—Ch. xii. ver. 14.

minded, that he should have trodden in the path traced by the Apostles; who, in propagating the Gospel, were not in search of the goods of the earth, nor in pursuit of human esteem.

To which he made answer, that "he had declared the truth according as he understood it; and wished, if he had done otherwise, that the earth might swallow him up, and he might drop into hell from the very place he then stood in: that, however, if his were illusions, he detested them, for he was sensible he was a miserable sinner; and indeed he feared that illusions might mingle with true visions; for time had acquainted him that the devil transforming himself into an angel of light was wont to intermix many deceptions; but for some time past he the exponent being elevated to the state of passive contemplation, had acquired a clearer discernment of true visions from false ones: that the Apostles had never made any foundations; though they had indeed gathered alms for the support of the poor, and of their own disciples; but he had founded seminaries with the jewels and other alms he had acquired; insomuch that in Bahia and the inland part of that continent, the first parcel he acquired amounted to twelve thousand crusados, or thereabouts, which was applied to the purchase of a palace; after which he got all that was necessary to complete the foundation."

That "in Cannita he had acquired eighty slaves and a good many lands; but this foundation was interrupted by the governor, who wanted the exponent to fix the certain number of scholars to be admitted therein, and the fathers of his order to bind themselves to the reception and maintenance of that number, which the exponent would by no means agree to: Likewise, that the foundation at Setubal was carrying on with the produce of the many jewels he had caused to be sold after the death of our Most Serene Lady the Queen Mother; the whole being deposited in the hands of the procurator, with the permission of the prelates."

Again, the criminal, some time after petitioning for a fresh

hearing, he declared at the board:—that "he came by an impulse *ab alto* to manifest, that he had begun the life of St. Anne, and continued writing it with the previous advice of his confessor and companion; who, convinced of God's conversing with the exponent, not only consented to his going on with the work, but even took the trouble of writing to him, after consulting with some learned men of the same order, that they were unanimously of opinion, that he should moderate some expressions which transgressed against the respect due to Majesty. *Ex quibus omnibus relatis* * he thought that it appeared *evidenter*,† that he was no hypocrite, since he sought to serve God 'in spiritu et veritate.'‡ To which he added, that, if he the exponent had stood up in his own defence at the bar of the inquisition, it was to fulfil his duty of clearing his order; which the Blessed Virgin was engaged to protect and aggrandise, as she had revealed to him in these words:—'Inimici erimus inimicis ejus.'‖ And this on a certain occasion, when she declared to him in his very prison, that she would not only put a stop to chastisements, but even prosper the kingdom, if the court would but enter into the exercises which he the criminal was wont to administer; for the rest, that he did not say any thing more of the favours which God bestowed upon him; because he called to mind these words:—'Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est."¶

The criminal continuing thus to run on with his impostures, and still shutting his ears to every thing which was said to him for his amendment, he was advised to reflect on his great rashness in presuming to expect, that any the least credit should be given to his fictitious miracles, visions, and revelations; when he ought rather to have remembered and

* From the declaration of all which circumstances.

† Manifestly.

‡ In spirit and in truth.

‖ We will be enemies to its enemies. See Exod. xxiii. 22.

¶ It is good to keep close the secrets of a King. Tobit. xii. 7.

weighed well the above words of St. Matthew, chapter vii.; as also the advice which St. John gives us in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle, in these express words:—"Charissimi, nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus, si ex Deo sint."* For that at the very juncture when he was boasting of virtues, he was thundering out wrath and falsehoods; without paying the least regard to what the Apostle elsewhere says in the very same Epistle; viz.—"Qui diligit fratrem suum, in lumine manet, et scandalum in eo non est:†—Qui dicit se in luce esse, et fratrem suum odit, in tenebris est usque adhuc:‡—Qui autèm odit fratrem suum, in tenebris est, et in tenebris ambulat, et nescit quo eat; quia tenebræ obcæcaverunt oculos ejus."‖ All which texts were distinctly quoted and repeated to him. But the criminal still persisted in averring, that "his revelations and prophecies proceeded from a good spirit, and were not at all inconsistent with the Scripture; for on one hand his hatred was a holy one, and on the other the Holy Ghost himself gave warning to princes in the following words:—'Omnes tyranni ejus ridiculi coram eo;¶—Potentes potenter tormenta patientur.'"† And forasmuch as he still dwelt much upon his being a prophet; and that with the view of intimidating with his prophecies, he was rebuked with these words out of the eighteenth of Deuteronomy:—"Quod in nomine Domini Propheta ille prædixerit, et non evenerit, hoc Dominus non est locutus, sed per tumorem

* Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God. 1 John iv. 1.

† He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is no scandal in him. Ibidem, chap. ii. ver 10.

‡ He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. Ibid. ver. 9.

‖ But he that hateth a brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes. Ibid. ver. 11.

¶ All tyrants shall be a laughing-stock in his sight. Habakkuk, chap. i. ver. 10. (See Edit. Vulgat.)

† Mighty men shall be mightily tormented. Wisdom vi.

animi sui Propheta confinxit; et idcirco non timebis eum."* To which he made answer, that "one time was taken for another time."

Afterwards the court renewing its admonishments to the criminal, he still went on with his obstinacy; and pretending to explain his sentiments with regard to purgatory, he said, that "the church instructs us to believe, that there is a hell, a purgatory, a limbo, whither the souls of unbaptized infants go; and Abraham's bosom, where the souls of the holy patriarchs were detained: But that the church explains not the particularities of these places; which our Lord God however had explained to him: And that, among other new doctrines, he had revealed to him, that in purgatory there is a place, in which the souls departed are detained till they are made acquainted with their final sentence."

Farther, he complained of the application made to himself of those texts of Scripture which speak of false prophets and hypocrites; adding, that "Jesus Christ had suffered the like injuries." But here he was reproached with the precepts of Christ, and the doctrine of his Apostle St. Peter, in the second chapter of his first Epistle, where he says:—"Omnes honorate; fraternitatem diligite; Deum timete; Regem honorificate,"† &c. Which he the criminal had so totally disregarded as to give himself wholly up to the pursuit of his own worldly interests. So that if he had reflected at all, he must have been conscious, that, in order to discredit all he said, there needed no more than the calling to remembrance the words of the Gospel, in the seventh of St. John,‡ which were

* What a Prophet shall foretel in the name of the Lord, and it come not to pass, that the Lord hath not spoken; but in the arrogance of his own mind the Prophet hath forged it; and therefore thou shalt not be afraid of him. Ver. 22.

† Esteem all men; love the brotherhood; fear God; honour the King. Ver. 17.

‡ He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory; but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him. Ver. 18.

also repeated to him accordingly. To this, however, he answered, that "he had always made it his only aim to promote the glory of Christ; and it had been with this view that he had written the books and papers of which he had given account."

With these and other answers of the like stamp the criminal persisted in maintaining, that his pretended revelations, prophecies, and propositions were true. Which moved the judges again to warn and exhort him to consider well the extraordinary mercy God exerted towards him in suffering him still to live, and in allowing him the time yet to repent of his enormous iniquities. The only result of which was the criminal's demanding, "what could be the reason for their calling him (in the words of St. Matthew, chapter xxiii.) 'a whitened sepulchre;' for that he was positive they could not tell what passed in his heart, nor dive into the secrets of his conscience. But he was answered, that, abstracting from the legal proofs which the court had against him, there were at the very board of inquisition sufficient grounds for calling him so, according to the words of St. Matthew, chapter xv.—'Quæ autem procedunt de ore, de corde exeunt, et ea coinquinant hominem: de corde enim exeunt cogitationes malæ, homicidia, adulteria, fornicationes, furta, falsa testimonia, blasphemiæ,'* &c.

To which he replied, that "all the declarations of his making throughout the course of these proceedings, he had made in that manner as they appeared, because he had sworn to speak the truth; and had he done otherwise, he must have lied 'in Spiritum Sanctum.'"† And as to what related to the aforecited text of the Evangelist, he answered, that "whatever he had of evil was wholly within him; and consequently all

* But those things which proceed out of the mouth, come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witnessings, blasphemies, &c.

† Against the Holy Ghost.

internal. And it is one thing, that iniquities 'exeant ex corde et maneant in corde,'* which will suffice 'ad coinquinandum hominem;'† and another thing, that 'exeant ex corde in opus externum,'‡ and thus become visible to men, and therefore punishable."

Now, whereas at this very juncture the board of inquisition received the intelligence that the criminal, in the very prison of the holy office, at the time when he imagined he was not overlooked, as being at the usual hours for repose, fatigued himself with filthy and indecent motions, and other actions, which scandalised his neighbour to such a degree, as obliged the latter to petition for remedy against the detriment accruing to himself from the company of the said criminal: He the said criminal was admonished thereupon, and again exhorted to lay aside his dissimulations, and to think seriously of putting an end to the crimes wherewith he was running headlong to hell; and to take notice, that the devil was aiming at his utter destruction.

To all which he answered, that "the devil indeed had tempted him in every species of crimes, and attempted even to lie with him in the shape of a woman; but that for two months past he had left off tempting him in matters relating to chastity. For the rest, in consequence of certain motions permitted by God, he the criminal had been sensible of the beginnings of those natural effects which are wont to attend on the like motions, when they are voluntary and directed to the accomplishment of uncleanness."

Things being in these terms, the criminal again petitioned for another hearing; and it being granted, he said, that "he now came to remove a presumption that stood against him: For he never had done any thing in his life to acquire the praise of men, or to be reputed a saint; but on the contrary had followed the counsel of Christ, who charges us, never to do

* Proceed from the heart, and still remain within the heart.

† To defile the man.

‡ Proceed from the heart into outward action.

any good action, for the sake of gaining applause to ourself; insomuch that he had always directed all that was good in him, to the purpose of pleasing God:" All which he confirmed again with oaths and imprecations. And to this he added likewise, that "he could not conceive how so many proofs had been lodged against him of things he had never done nor thought on; nor was it likely, that a person who committed such crimes should seek such a kind of life as he the exponent had followed for the conversion of souls; who had plunged himself into the midst of many barbarian nations with constant peril; had been frequently wounded with arrows, and even stript naked in order to be murdered, and at other times condemned to be beheaded. Of all which dangers God sent him the exponent notice, and awakened him with these express words:—'Surge, commenda te Deo: Nescis enim quanto in periculo versaris.'"* And thus much he affirmed upon oath, accompanied with a bitter imprecation, that, if he told a falsehood in this, "might the earth open and hell swallow him up, and that he wished the same with regard to every thing else which he had hitherto declared since his being in the inquisition."

He then proceeded to observe, that "he was a divine; had been a professor in his order; was actually an apostolic missioner; and had studied somewhat of mystical divinity; and therefore he took upon him to aver, that the matter of his said declarations proceeded from a good spirit; though he owned that they were indeed sometimes intermixt with the illusions of the devil, and sometimes also with the spirit of mere man."

Upon this he was told, that the fruits of the good spirit are charity, peace, patience, continence, meekness, and the rest mentioned by St. Paul in the fifth to the Galatians; where also the same Apostle points out the fruits of the flesh; Which, that the criminal might not be ignorant of, were

* Arise! recommend thyself to God; for thou knowest not the greatness of the danger thou art in.

distinctly repeated to him, with this farther observation, that those very fruits and works of the flesh were exactly what had been discovered to be in himself; as had been demonstrated to him in his several examinations, and had been frequently repeated to him in the admonitions and exhortations made him from time to time; and therefore it behoved him to be mindful thereof, in order to persist no longer in the pursuit of his own ruin.

His answer to this was, that "he acknowledged, he was full of vices, as he had been given to understand; and therefore he should say with St. Paul: 'Christus venit in mundum, ut redimeret peccatores, quorum primus ego sum; sed idcirco elegit me Dominus, ut ostenderet in me omnes divitias misericordiæ et patientiæ suæ.'* And then he assevered that "the blessed Virgin Mary had absolved him that morning 'per locutionem sensibilem,'† repeating three times the words, 'filius meus,' and telling him to be easy amidst his troubles; for that neither she nor her son would permit the devil to counterfeit a sacrament of such importance; and that the same form of words in absolution had been repeated to him after the inquisitor's telling him, that the things which he the exponent related were the works of the devil, who deceived him."

And the criminal being again advised to give no credit to such speeches and voices, if he really heard any such; for that they were in fact so many voices of Satan, whom he ought to strive against, by fortifying himself with faith, according to St. Peter's direction in his first Epistle, chapter v.: He answered, that "he had always endeavoured to copy after St. Peter and St. Paul; but that though St. Peter gave

* Christ came into the world, that he might redeem sinners, of whom I am the first; but therefore hath the Lord chosen me, that he might shew forth in me all the riches of his mercy and patience. See 1 Timothy i. 15, 16.

† By sensibly articulated speech, or, otherwise, with an audible voice.

the advice just mentioned, St. Paul gave also another advice in the following words :—'Prophetias nolite contemnere.'* - - However, that he did his utmost to bear with patience and joy the tribulations which the Lord permitted to fall upon him and his order." Thus the criminal, not caring to listen to any truth, kept running on towards that perdition, into which the world, the devil, and the flesh were decoying him; although he was made acquainted, that his writings had been examined by several doctors learned in mystical divinity; and that they were found to contain many errors, self-contradictions; many rash, ill-sounding, and scandalous propositions; and many heretical ones quite opposite to the texts and passages of Holy Scripture; circumstances which made it impossible for the revelations, he asserted in the said writings, to proceed from a good spirit.

For notwithstanding all this, he still affirmed, that "his said works were divine 'quoad substantiam,'† and only contained a few errors of no entity; which a companion of his had corrected and kept privately concealed, or perhaps got conveyed out of the prison, where they had been both in confinement together: and the cause of the exponent's stumbling into those errors was the hurry with which they were dictated to him, and the omitting to pray, as he should have done, for greater light and clearness. But as to the propositions for which he was called to account, they by no means deserved the censure past upon them; and the objections brought against them and against the truth of his revelations were mere arrows of straw. That nevertheless, if any one of them was reputed heretical, he retracted it, as he had already acquainted the board of the holy office; which he desired to forward his cause with all dispatch, and to chastise him as they should judge proper. For the rest he observed, that, if they sought a defendant, he was their man; but if a delin-

* Despise not prophesyings. 1 Thessalonians v. 20.

† As to their substance.

quent, they would not find one; for that some of his propositions had nothing in them against faith, and others should be taken 'in sensu tropologico,'* like that which God himself makes use of in those passages:—'pœnitet me fecisse hominem:'†—'tactus dolore cordis:'‡ and Christ, when he called St. Peter by the name of Satan, saying to him:—'Vade retrò Satanas, scandalum enim es mihi:'‖ whereas neither repentance could exist in God, nor was St. Peter a devil, and much less prince of the devils."

The criminal also said, that "he had advanced in his writings that virtue was more easy to acquire than vice, because the Holy Ghost teaches the same in these words:—'Cum sancto sanctus eris;'§ for that in fact the saints possessing all the virtues in 'statu heroico,'¶ have no danger to apprehend. Which is so true, added he, that a man, who should commit a sin of carnality before a person, whom he judges to be a saint, would only be obliged to accuse himself of the sin against chastity, without explaining the circumstance of having committed it before a third person. Because in that case there would not be the same additional crime of scandal and ruin to a neighbour, as is wont to be when the like act is committed before common persons.

Also, that "the words in his works, which ascribed to God more than one majesty and more than one nature, were to be taken 'in sano sensu,'** and not 'materialitèr;'‖‖ And therefore they should be understood to be spoken of Christ our Lord, whose soul after death was parted from his body, the divinity still remaining united to his; as it could also unite itself to a drop of the blood of the heart of our Lady at

* In a figurative sense.

† It repenteth me that I have made man.

‡ Grieved at his heart.

‖ Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou art a scandal to me. Matthew xvi. 33.

§ With the holy thou shalt be holy. Psalm xvii.

¶ In a heroic degree. ** In a right sense. ‖‖ Grossly.

the time of the incarnation of the Divine Word, without the soul's being united to the same body; which he meant to serve for an explanation of some of his propositions." He said moreover, that, "with regard to the text wherein Solomon speaks of the woman of fortitude, some authors apply it to our Lady, and others to the Church; but that he applied it to St. Anne, because it was revealed to him, and because he was told at the same time, that the aforesaid saint prayed for the angelic choirs; and often was transported with amorous impetuosities of zeal on contemplating the infinite goodness of God and his merit; and looked upon all the glory given him by those holy spirits as far too little: That, nevertheless, if he offended against true faith in any thing, he submitted to the inquisition; that is to say, added he, only outwardly, till some reason should be given him to induce him to retract, which might appear to him better than those he had received *ab alto*, at the time when the Revelations of St. John were explained to him so as to give him a clearer perception of those divine mysteries, than any contained in the commentators of the aforesaid Revelations." And the whole he concluded with saying, that "he was not obliged to declare the secrets of his heart, because the Church takes no cognisance de internis;"* nor could it oblige him to say, whether he had composed his work for the sake of human applause, or for any other end."

He declared likewise, that "the proposition or tenet, whereby he advanced, that souls who have attained to the state of passive or sublime contemplation are forsaken of the devils, and thenceforward tempted by angels and saints, was nowise against faith: For that it is evident from Scripture itself, and in particular from these words of the Holy Ghost:—'Tentat vos Dominus, utrum diligatis eum, an non:'†—and elsewhere,

* Of things concealed in the human breast.

† The Lord proveth you, that it may appear, whether you love him or not. Deut. xiii. 3.

—'Tentabit eos Dominus et probabit eos, et quasi aurum in fornace probabit eos.'* However, if this assertion appeared to be wrong, he was ready to moderate and reform it. And as to the effects which he had already declared to have felt from the motions before mentioned, he owned, that at first they had given him great concern, as they appeared to him to proceed from the devil; but that he had been assured *ab alto*, that he had committed no sin; but on the contrary, as they were pure natural effects of the agitation itself, in which he had no share, he had therein merited full as much as in the act of mental prayer." However, he was told, that the texts by him alleged were not in the least applicable to the sense he put upon them; for that our Lord God never tries us by such means, though he may at times permit us to be so tempted by the devil, whom it is our obligation to resist: In confirmation whereof he was reminded of the words of St. James in his Catholic Epistle, chapter i.—" Nemo, cum tentatur, dicat, quoniàm a Deo tentatur. Deus enìm intentator malorum est: Ipsé enìm neminem tentat: Unusquisque verò tentatur a concupiscientia sua."†

To this he answered, that " the soul there spoken of, is one which starts at every little thing, as at a matter enormously great: And as to the expressions, obscenities, and indecencies in his work, if they did not like them, they might blot them out: But that his revelations were nevertheless like those of many holy souls; and there was no reason why some should be approved and others not: Especially since he the exponent had forsaken father and mother, and fulfilled the commandments of God and his Church, exposing himself to

* The Lord will try them, and will prove them, and even as gold in the furnace he will prove them. See Wisdom iii.

† Let no man, when he is tempted, say that he is tempted by God: For God is no tempter of evils: For he tempteth no man. But every one is tempted by his own concupiscence. St. James' Catholic Epistle, i. 13, 14.

so many seas: Though this he said, as well as the rest of his good works, he published only for the sake of converting sinners; who are not to be moved to a change of life, without having a good opinion of the missioner: And in this he only filled the divine commandment left us in these words of the Gospel:—'Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus; ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in cœlis est.'* Which he made use of in answer to these others, that had been objected to him out of St. Luke, chapter xvii.—'Cum feceritis omnia, quæ præcepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus: Quod debuimus facere facimus.' "†

Again he said, that, "till the time of receiving the revelation he had had, he always imagined, that our B. Lady had conceived in her virginal womb the Divine Word, after being wedded to St. Joseph: But that the contrary was revealed to him: Since when he was persuaded, that the incarnation of the Word was previous to her marriage; nor did the words of St. Matthew, chapter i. contradict, but favour his sentiment and new doctrine. Whereupon the words of St. Luke's Gospel, chapter i. were quoted to him:—'Missus est angelus Gabriel a Deo in civitatem, cui nomen Nazareth, ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Joseph, de domo David, et nomen virginis Maria.' "‡

But he answered, that "the B. Virgin Mary had indeed conceived after the angelical embassy, but not after the same embassy *numero* of which St. Luke speaks; for that our Lady had told him the exponent, that before that embassy she had received twenty others." And this the criminal confirmed,

* Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and may glorify your Father, who is in heaven. Matt. v. 16.

† When ye shall have done all those things, which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: We have done that which was our duty to do. Ver. 10.

‡ The angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city... named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man, whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. Ver. 26, 27.

in his usual way, with swearing and cursing, which there was no prevailing with him to abstain from. And whereas he was admonished not to give credit to new doctrines, but to remember the words of St. Paul to the Hebrews, chapter xiii. —"Doctrinis variis et peregrinis nolite abduci:"* he again replied, that Christ himself had also left us the following words:—"Multa habeo vobis dicere quæ non potestis portare modò."†

He advanced moreover, that "the blessed Virgin Mary remained in Jerusalem when Christ our divine Lord left her company, and was afterwards found in the temple." And the words of the Evangelist St. Luke‡ in the second chapter of his Gospel being recited to him: he said, that "the word Jerusalem meant the city and its out-skirts, as the word Lisbon comprehends the whole circumference of its neighbourhood, and that the Evangelists do not contradict our Lady's living some time at Jerusalem; notwithstanding which the exponent had no objection to their altering any thing in his works which should appear not quite so exact; though at the same time his revelations were in no point contrary to the Gospel: For it was not impossible for Christ to be in the temple with the doctors and at the same time in the house of St. Anne and present at her death: And, as doctors disagree among themselves, he also, as a divine, had a right to vary from the rest, and interpret Scripture-passages his own way."

Seeing therefore that all the endeavours which had been made use of to bring the criminal to a sense of repentance were

* Be not carried away by divers and strange doctrines. Ver. 9.

† I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. John xvi. 12.

‡ His parents ... when he was twelve years old ... went up to Jerusalem ... and when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it. But they supposing him to be in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him amongst their kindred and acquaintance. And when they found him not, they turned back to Jerusalem. Ver. 41 to 45.

utterly ineffectual, and that on the contrary he grew more and more hardened in his exorbitant arrogance; he was severely reprimanded for the enormous conceit he entertained of himself with respect to his imaginary virtue, knowledge and mighty learning, and put in mind of those words of the Proverbs, chapter x.—"Sapientes abscondunt scientiam: Os autèm stulti confusioni proximum est;"* and finally of these out of St. Jude the Apostle:—"Væ illis, quia in via Cain abierunt et in errore Balaam effusi sunt ... Ili sunt ... Nubes sine aquâ, quæ a ventis circumferuntur ... fluctus feri maris, despumantes confusiones," &c.†

To which he answered, that "he also could allege many other texts opposite to these, which were quoted to him. And that it was not reasonable or just that he should suffer himself to be considered as convicted, without saying the same as Christ had said of St. Peter, and likewise what he had said of the Jews, and particularly of the Pharisees. But that there was a time to speak, and a time to keep silence, which God had commanded him to do."

Some time after, the criminal being again called to the board and heard and admonished, he said, that, "according to his judgment, the revelations he had given account of, were agreeable to the principles of mystic divinity:" Adding that, "though they were contrary to the sentiment of Catholics, they were not contrary to the sentiment of the Church;" and that, before he set about writing the Life of Antichrist, he was of opinion, that there was to be but one; building that opinion of his on the Scriptures and on the common consent of the holy fathers: Who teach us that Elias and Henoch are still living (which some think to be the case also with St. John

* Wise men conceal their knowledge; but the mouth of a fool is near to confusion. Ver. 10. (Vulgate).

† Woe unto them; for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam ... These are ... Clouds without water, which are carried about of the winds, ... raging waves of the sea, foaming out their shame. Ver. 11, 12.

the Evangelist), and that they are to come at the end of the world to combat against the same Antichrist. But that, since his revelations, he is persuaded, that they are to be three; because it is not possible, that one only person should subject and ruin the whole world: Wherefore he held it for a thing void of all doubt, that one is to begin the Empire, another to spread it, and the other to work all those horrible desolations announced in the Scriptures, and particularly in the Revelations of St. John; to which the holy fathers have not given any competent explanation, or at least not so good a one as his own." And being reminded out of St. Paul to the Galatians * (chapter i.) of the curse entailed upon all who presume to teach aught in contrary to what is already taught us by the Holy Scriptures and Church: He answered, that "indeed, in a moral sense, it might be said that there is to be but one Antichrist; because the son and grandson are to act in virtue of the first, and as his instruments: Yet in reality there are to be three Antichrists for all that."

He added also, that "though he the exponent had abandoned his native country for the love of God, he had not lost his natural affection for it. And therefore, as no interest led him thus to defame it, by making it the native soil of a monster like Antichrist, the scourge of the whole universe; he could not be persuaded, that what he had written of him, was not revealed to him *ab alto*, or that he had not been instructed from thence to point out the city of Milan for Antichrist's country, and to ascribe to that monster's mother those qualities which are to be seen in his treatise: In which there were but few errors in point of chronology, and those wholly owing to the precipitate hurry he wrote in.—Farther he said, that, though the Church forbids all positive assertions concerning matters of so mysterious a nature, when they are the arbitrary productions of our own brain, she does not forbid

* If any man preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed, Ver. 8, 9. twice repeated.

them, when they are communicated to us by God himself, as was the case with the exponent, who had received a very ample intelligence of the Revelations of St. John, such as was necessary for the structure and composition of his own work. And to this he added, that supposing he actually were an egregious hypocrite, and as full of real vices and counterfeit virtues as he was said to be; even in that case his hyprocisy could only be improperly so called, as being very proper and becoming his state of a missioner."

These and many other such answers (many of them highly injurious to the religious state, and principally to the communities of the female sex) were given by the criminal at the examinations he went through concerning the doctrines he had advanced in writing and by word of mouth. Wherefore seeing that he discovered not the least disposition towards a retractation, several persons of learning were appointed him to converse with; that, by communing with them on the matter of his own writings and pretended revelations, he might enter into a true sense of his illusions. But nothing of this availed towards producing the desired effect. On the contrary, he was so far from any disposition to retract his former errors, that he carried his obstinacy to the farther extravagance of asserting, that "for the sake of freeing a neighbour from considerable harm, or to do him a notable service, it was lawful to lie;" and farther, that "there is a middle place between heaven and hell for grown pagans, such as the man-eaters of those countries, through which he the exponent has travelled; and the reason he assigned was, because it was impossible for God to condemn those to the endless flames of hell, who have no knowledge and reason, or but an imperfect one."

He assevered moreover, that "he the criminal not caring to receive again absolution from the B. Virgin, because the fathers, with whom he had conferred, told him that these things were diabolical, Jesus Christ himself had come and absolved him in these express terms:—'Ego Dominus Deus tuus, qui creavi te et redemi te in sanguine meo, te absolvo ab

omnibus peccatis tuis et pœnis: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti;'* in order to shew those fathers their error, and to remove every doubt concerning the absolution given by the blessed Lady, in virtue of the power she possessed; which was not merely delegated, but ordinary, and much superior to that of the Pope."

Observing therefore the criminal's obdurate persistence in arrogating to himself, after the example of the Pharisees, a superiority of virtue and knowledge over all the rest of mankind; as also in refusing to pay any the least regard to what was said to him for his reformation, or to weigh as behoved him the lessons of Jesus Christ, which had been repeated to him: Orders were given for an inquiry to be made into the state of his intellects: which was accordingly done, with a strict examination of persons and facts, *ex officio*:† Whence it was fully and clearly proved, that he the criminal did not labour under any the least lesion or insanity of mind, but was in his full and perfect understanding and senses; as indeed was sufficiently clear before from the pertinent answers, which he gave from time to time, at the board of inquisition, to the questions there proposed to him, as well as in the many examinations he went through.

Wherefore the grand Proctor of the inquisition brought in his indictment against him as criminal: Which was admitted with the clauses "Si, et quantûm,"‡ and contested by the malefactor with the matter of his former declarations. But having nothing better to produce in his defence, his objections to the bill were thrown out. However, he afterwards alleging by his attorney, that "he now no longer believed his revelations and prophecies to be true ones, but retracted all he had said, being desirous to submit to the decisions of Holy Writ,

* I the Lord thy God, who created thee and redeemed thee in my blood, do absolve thee from all thy sins, and the penalties thereby incurred: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

† In due form of law. ‡ If, and as far as, equitable.

to the decrees of the apostolic see, and the determinations of the holy office; and acknowledging, that his having thitherto taken them (the said pretended revelations and prophecies) for real ones, had been the pure effect of illusion, diabolical temptation, and his own ignorance:" He was again called to the board, and interrogated there on the substance of his retractation, in order that it might appear whether it was made with sincerity, or not.

In answer therefore to the interrogatories then and there made to him, he said, that "he was firmly persuaded that his propositions were catholic; notwithstanding which he had retracted them, because his lawyer told him, that they were judged and pronounced heretical; and he still adhered to his retractation, in case they really were so, or provided they should be proved to him to be so; which hitherto had not been done: Concluding his declaration with saying, that at most he was to be looked upon only as a mere material heretic, without any fault on his side; since by penitence and prayer he had applied all the means which God and his Church require towards obtaining that light which the Almighty has in St. James's Catholic Epistle obliged himself to give, in the following words: 'Si quis indiget sapientiâ, postulet a me; et dabo ei affluenter;' and yet he had not thitherto drawn from his said endeavours the conviction that his doctrines were false.

"In this situation of things, the judicial proofs being again revised and confirmed, the whole of his declarations was again publicly read to him, according to the due form of law and the style of the holy office; and he not coming with any opposition thereto, he was cast."

At the same time, in order to bring the criminal to a sense of repentance, whereby he might become worthy of being again admitted into the bosom and union of our holy mother the Church; and not expose his soul to utter perdition, by dying in those errors, which he had thitherto maintained with so much obstinacy and hardness of heart; nor carry to the

grave those vicious habits, which, together with his depraved inclinations, had occasioned the lewd actions and obscenities that were fully proved to the board, by the very witnesses whom he himself called to his defence, and to verify the virtuous deeds he pretended to have practised: Orders were again given, that he should be attended by several persons of learning, with whom he might converse. And the result of these conversations and conferences was, that the criminal again petitioned for a hearing: Which being granted, he said, that "he now retracted all he had done and said, in obedience to the tribunal of the Church, with the same veneration and respect which he had always had for it, remembering the words of our Lord God, who inculcated the paying respect to the ministers of the synagogue: 'Super cathedram Moysis sederunt Scribæ et Pharisæi——quæcunque dixerint vobis,—facite."*

After this the criminal again petitioned for another hearing; and therein he said, that "he had used his endeavours with prayers and penitences, and even with exorcisms, in order to banish from himself those celestial confabulations, visions, and revelations, wherewith God favoured him, because the board of the holy office had told him, they did not proceed from a good spirit; and because he had been also told, that, if they were of the devil, God himself would banish them from him, by his using those means. But that nevertheless, as it was God himself that spoke to him, he still kept on speaking, and would still continue to do so; on purpose that he the exponent and the very ministers of the holy office might be convinced, that he (the said exponent) was free from any fault. And this was what he himself was in fact fully convinced of: Nor could he acknowledge himself at all persuaded by any of the arguments made use of by the fathers and divines, with whom he had been directed to

* The Scribes and Pharisees have sitten in Moses's seat... whatsoever they bid you, observe.... do ye. Matt. xxiii. 2.

confer; so long as they could assert to him that it really was blasphemy to say, that our Lady had absolved him: For that he the exponent was not obliged to agree to what those divines had told him in that particular: Because, although in *statu præsentis Providentiæ*,* the ordinary ministers of the sacrament of penance are men, and such a favour as was bestowed on him had not been hitherto conferred on any other person; it did not therefore follow, that by an extraordinary providence it might not be granted to the exponent; Since our Lord God is independent in the distribution of his gifts, and can bestow more upon some than upon others; as he has done with some saints, who were not equal in point of merit to the apostles: And moreover it was clear from history, that, on certain occasions, the very angels have administered the sacrament of the eucharist; and therefore there was no room to doubt, or absolutely deny, that the B. Virgin Mary and Christ himself should appear to the exponent and absolve him; which however the said fathers and divines had done, by flatly contradicting the truth of his faithful narrative."

That over and above what he had already said, "he had these arguments to prove the truth of that absolution, namely, his profession of Jesuit; —his character of apostolic missioner;—his having passed the seas several times for the sole interest of Christ's glory;—his having penetrated into five of the most barbarous nations upon earth;—and having run manifest risks of being killed and eaten up. And he the criminal therefore insisted that there was no greater foundation for believing other servants of God, than there was for giving credit to him in what he said and confirmed upon oath: He having gone through greater hardships in the service of God, and attained to a higher degree of learning; and consequently not standing in need of farther confirmation by miracles: And yet he declared, that in the very tower

* According to the present dispensation of Providence.

in which he had been confined, he had had an insight into the state of a servant's conscience, and thereupon given him a paternal admonishment; after which our Lord God revealed to him, that the aforesaid servant had made a good confession; and therefore the exponent gave him a congratulatory embrace on the good state of soul to which he was restored."

Upon this the criminal was told that the disregard he shewed for all the advices and other means with which the holy office had endeavoured to work his conversion was the pure effect of his artifice, of his arrogance, and of that enormous self-conceit which made him look upon himself as superior in learning and virtue to all mankind; and that with those he was daily rendering himself more and more unfit to conquer Satan, who was aiming at his utter perdition: Whereas it behoved him to take notice, that for the endeavours, which he said he had employed, to do him any good, and obtain him a clear understanding of the truths which had been told him, it was necessary he should humble himself, and with great self-depression entreat our Lord God to open his eyes. For the rest he was warned, that in a very short time his cause would be finally decided at the board of the holy office, according to the merits thereof: And that, if the decision should be contrary to his expectation, he must take all the blame on himself, for refusing to comply with what had been told him for the salvation of his soul. After which, being reminded of the words of our Lord, with regard to the prayers of the Pharisee and publican,* and the words being repeated to him: he answered, that, "before this advice was given to him, he the exponent had already heard what was intended to be said to him, and at the same time he heard these express words added thereto —'Sed ego cum

* Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Luke xviii. 14. See the entire passage from ver. 10.

accepero tempus, has justitias judicabo. Mysterium est tua captivitas; mysterium est tua accusatio; mysterium erit tua solutio:'† And that our Lord God had assured him, that he had permitted all this for sublime purposes relating to the exponent's good, and for his the exponent's humiliation, mortification, and the accumulation of his manifold merits.

Thus the criminal still persisted in refusing to lay aside his obstinacy, his arogance, and the dissimulation with which he had before acquired the esteem and reputation of sanctity: Being still ambitious of preserving it, even after the full discovery of the fictions and falsehoods on which that pretended sanctity was built; and still fondly flattering himself, that credit would be given to the things he related of himself, and so spontaneously confirmed with the most tremendous oaths and imprecations: One of which (among the many he uttered without the least symptom of fear of chastisement) was, that "one of the nails of Christ's cross might be converted into a thunderbolt, to kill him and precipitate him into hell:" In justification whereof he observed, that "he, who was a divine and had been a professor in his order, was a sufficient judge when and how far oaths were lawful."

In consideration of all which, the proceedings in this cause were brought to a final conclusion.

Accordingly, the proceedings against the criminal being viewed and examined at the board of the holy office: after his being cited, heard, and again admonished, it was decided, that he the said criminal, on legal proof and his own declarations, was convicted of the crimes of heresy, and counterfeiting revelations, visions, celestial confabulations, and other special favours of God, in order to be held and reputed a saint: And as a heretic from the holy Catholic faith, and a convicted, counterfeit, false, self-condemned, prevaricating pro-

† But when I shall take a set time, I myself will judge these very judgments. A mystery is thy imprisonment; a mystery is thy arraignment; and a mystery shall thy discharge also be.

fessor of various heretical doctrines, he was judged and found guilty.

Some time after this, the criminal having learnt that certain signals, which he heard, were demonstrations of the gratitude with which the loyal subjects of Portugal manifested their uncommon satisfaction and gladness, occasioned by the blessing which God in his mercy had just bestowed on this realm, in giving to our most august Monarch a new offspring: he again petitioned for a hearing; and persevering in his accustomed dissimulation, he began with making fresh complaints of no credit being given by the board of inquisition to his pretended prophecies and revelations, and said, that "they treated him as a heretic and an impostor, for want of reflecting, that, even saints, who had had true revelations, had on some occasions been subject to illusion, like the exponent; who acknowledged he had been so when he declared that our Lord the King was dead." Nevertheless the said criminal possest with the presumption that he should still carry his point of having his revelations, false prophecies, and other impostures believed in the end; he then went so far as to aver, that "he had been informed by revelation, of the happy delivery of our Royal Lady the Princess; and that God had vouchsafed to give her a daughter, as a proof that the most serene couple were capable of giving hereafter a male heir to the royal family of this kingdom, as he the exponent desired: And that by the same revelation he was acquainted, that they certainly would have male children hereafter."

To the end therefore that the fear of severity, and the apprehension of justice in its utmost rigour, might work that effect on the criminal which could not be obtained by all the advice, mildness, and other means, with which the inquisition had endeavoured to put him once more in the true way of salvation; he was informed of the final conclusion of his cause and the decision thereof: And as he still persisted in his stubbornness and contumacy, without caring to acknowledge his guilt, he was finally summoned to the public *auto-de-fé*, therein to receive the sentence, which condemned him

to be delivered up to the secular arm. Things then being in these terms, the criminal, when actually on the scaffold, petitioned again for another hearing; but thereat he said nothing new, which might alter the sentence already determined.

All which being seen, together with all things else which are manifested in the course of these proceedings, as also the disposition of the law in such case, and the nature of the criminal's misdeeds duly weighed, with all the deliberation which the gravity of the matter required: And he still refusing to lay aside his obstinacy, and persisting to the last in his blindness and impenitence:

Christi Jesu nomine invocato, they declare the said criminal Gabriel Malagrida convicted of the crime of heresy, in asserting, following, writing, and defending propositions and doctrines contrary to the true dogmas and doctrine which is delivered and taught us by our holy mother the Roman Catholic Church; and that as such he has fallen under the sentence of major excommunication, and incurred the rest of the penalties by law established against such: and as a heretic, an inventor of new heretical errors, and a convicted, counterfeit, false, self-condemned, prevaricating, and contumacious professor of the aforesaid errors, they sentence him to be deposed and degraded in fact of his orders, according to the disposition and form of the sacred canons, and afterwards with a gag * on his mouth, a bonnet † of infamy on his head, and wearing the inscription of Heresiarch on his breast, to be given up to the lay tribunal of justice: which they earnestly pray to treat the said criminal with lenity and compassion, and not to proceed against him to death, or the effusion of blood.

LEWIS BARATA DE LIMA. JOACHIM JANSEN MULLER.
HIERONIME ROCADO DO CARVALHAL, E SYLVA.
LEWIS PITER DE BRITO CALDEIRA.

* A badge usually employed to denote a blasphemer.

† A kind of flaming mitre; other badge, to denote such as have made use of sacred things and divine mysteries for diabolical purposes.

And no more is said in the sentence annexed to the proceedings aforesaid: which being transmitted to, and consulted by, the lay tribunal da Relaçaon, the sentence of the same court was added thereto, and is of the following tenour, viz.

Agreed in the Court of Relaçaon, &c. Having seen the sentence of the inquisition, ordinary and deputies of the holy office: and whereas thereby it is manifest, that the criminal Gabriel Malagrida, conventual priest of the society called Jesuits, is a heretic from the holy Catholic faith, and as such delivered up to the lay judicature, having first undergone the effectual, public, and legal degradation from his orders, they condemn him to be led with a cord about his neck, and proclamation made of his crimes, through the public streets of this city, to the square of Rociò, and there to suffer corporal death by being strangled with a rope, and his body to be burnt and reduced to powder and ashes, that there may be no memory of him or his remains; and to pay the costs of suit. Lisbon, twentieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

GAMA. CASTRO. LEMOS. XAVERIUS DE SYLVA.
GIRALDES. SEABRA. CARVALHO. SYLVA FREIRE.

And nothing farther was contained in the sentence of the Court da Relaçaon annexed to the proceedings aforesaid; whereto in all and every their particulars I refer: and in virtue of the same sentence of the Court da Ralaçaon, an order was passed by proclamation for executing the same on the person of the said criminal in the form therein adjudged: for the verification whereof the present act was dispatched, subscribed, and signed by me. And I [*here immediately follow in the hand-writing of one of the clerks of the Court, these subsequent words*, viz.] Simon Lewis de Almeida have subscribed and signed it for my fellow-clerk, Francis de Magalhaens e Brito.

SIMON LEWIS DE ALMEIDA.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

A List of the Persons, with their Offences and Punishments, who came out of the Inquisition in Lisbon, in Person, or were brought out in Effigy, at the Auto-de-Fé there, on the 27th of October, 1765.

Men, who died in prison, but were judged innocent, and brought out in effigy.

JOHN da Cunha, friar of the order of barefooted Carmelites, accused of having conceived ill opinions of the proceedings of the holy office.

John Perreira da Cunha, knight of the order of Christ, accused of having been guilty of idolatrous crimes.

Men, who did not abjure their offences.

Francisco Gonsalves Lopez, secular priest and confessor, for crediting and spreading feigned divine gifts in a certain person under his religious direction and confession.—Suspended for ever as a confessor and exorcist, and banished for five years to Castro Marine.

Joaquim Teixeira, postilion, for assuming the authority of the holy office, in order to rob a person.—Whipping, and five years slavery in the gallies.

Emanuel Antonio Aranha, alias Francisco Morreira Bandeira, a sharper or impostor, for pretending to be of the brotherhood of the holy office, and acting as such in behalf of that tribunal, without licence for so doing.—Whipping, and five years banishment to Calsita, with a saving of right to the injured party to sue for losses and damages.

Antonio Joseph Cesario de Azevedo Coutenho, perukemaker, for swearing falsely against a certain person.—Whipping, five years slavery in the gallies, and branding as a false evidence.

Francisco Lewis Tavares, friar of a certain order, and Francisco de Santa Theresa, friar of a certain order, for giving false evidence at the tribunal of the holy office.—Deprived for ever of certain privileges, with suspension of the functions of their orders for ten years, and actual slavery in the gallies for that space of time, and afterwards imprisonment during pleasure in the cells of the holy office.

Antonio Leitao, lay-brother of a certain order, for the same offence.—Imprisonment during pleasure in the cells of the holy office, and afterwards actual slavery in the gallies for life.

Doigo Antonio Xavier, friar of a certain order, for the same offence.—The same punishments as the two preceding the last-mentioned.

Men, who did abjure their offences.

Francisco Barboza, alias Pascoal Mertins, a shepherd; Francisco Leyte, glover; Miguel Rodrigues Curto, husbandman; John de Oliveira, or Teixeira; Joseph Fernandes, a soldier; Vital Perreira Machado, and Antonio Joseph Marquez, alias Joseph Ribeiro, labourer; all for bigamy.—All these sentenced to whipping, and five years slavery in the gallies.

Antonio da Costa Ramos, for bigamy; and Francesis Antonio Pimentel, or Antonio Joseph, labourer, for the same offence.—These two were sentenced to whipping, and six years slavery in the gallies.

Antonio Francisco, shepherd, for crimes of superstition.—Banishment for two years to Castro Marine.

Bernardo Joseph Loureyro, labourer, for pretending to work miraculous cures by means of his great piety.—Whipping, and five years slavery in the gallies.

John da Costa Dias, for holding blasphemous tenets, and seeking to obtain riches by superstitious practices.—Banished for three years to the bishoprick of Vizeu.

Joseph Antonio da Silva Ferreira, notary public, Bonaventura de St. Jago, and Anastasio dos Santos, secular priest, for speaking ill of the proceedings of the holy office.—Banished for five years to Angola.

Jacinto Joseph Coelho, secular priest, an officer of the holy office, for speaking ill of the holy office, and revealing certain proceedings of that tribunal.—Deprived of his employment in the holy office, and banished for seven years to Angola.

Bernardino Joseph de Andrader, bachelor of law, for scandalous and heretical opinions, not paying due reverence to the holy sacrament, and for speaking ill of the proceedings of the holy office.—Perpetual imprisonment in the cells of the holy office.

Emanuel Ribeiro, alias d'Emanuel Xavier, alias Sebastian Xavier, a clergyman in minor orders, sentenced at Coimbro, at an act of faith, on the 26th of September, 1745, for having said mass, and confessed people, without being qualified; for not complying with the banishment to which he was then condemned, and afterwards for being guilty of the same offences.—Stripped of his religious habit, whipping, and ten years slavery in the gallies.

Gabriel Nunes, a liver by his wits, for crimes of Judaism.—Confiscation of his effects, with imprisonment and the habit of ignominy during pleasure.

Daniel Nunes, for the same offences.—His punishment the same.

Antonio Francisco Leyte, secular priest and confessor, for

atheism.—Imprisonment, and the habit of ignominy during pleasure, incapacitated for any kind of office, suspended for ever from his religious functions, and banished to the city of Evora, out of which he is not to go.

Antonio Carlos Monteiro, secular priest and confessor, for atheism.—Imprisonment and habit of ignominy during pleasure, with suspension from religious functions.

Women:

Catherine Marquez, in effigy, having died in confinement, accused of Judaism.

Josepha Thereza Freire, for bigamy.—Banishment for three years to Guarda.

Louiza Francisca, for the same offence.—Banishment for three years to Porto.

Angelica Carvalho, for crimes of superstition, and pretending she had held conversation with the soul of a certain deceased person.—Banishment for three years to Vizeu.

Josepha de Jesus, for crimes of superstition.—Banishment for three years to Liria.

Margaretta Josepha, for disrespect shewn to the image of a saint.—Banishment for three years to Basto Marine.

Amadore Marianna Ignacia de St. Miguel, nun of a certain order, for feigning visions and revelations; for spreading and writing erroneous doctrines.—Deprivation of privileges, imprisonment during pleasure in the cells of the holy office, and afterwards for life in the convent of Calvario.

Aguimar Nunes, for crimes of Judaism.—Imprisonment, and the habit of ignominy for life.

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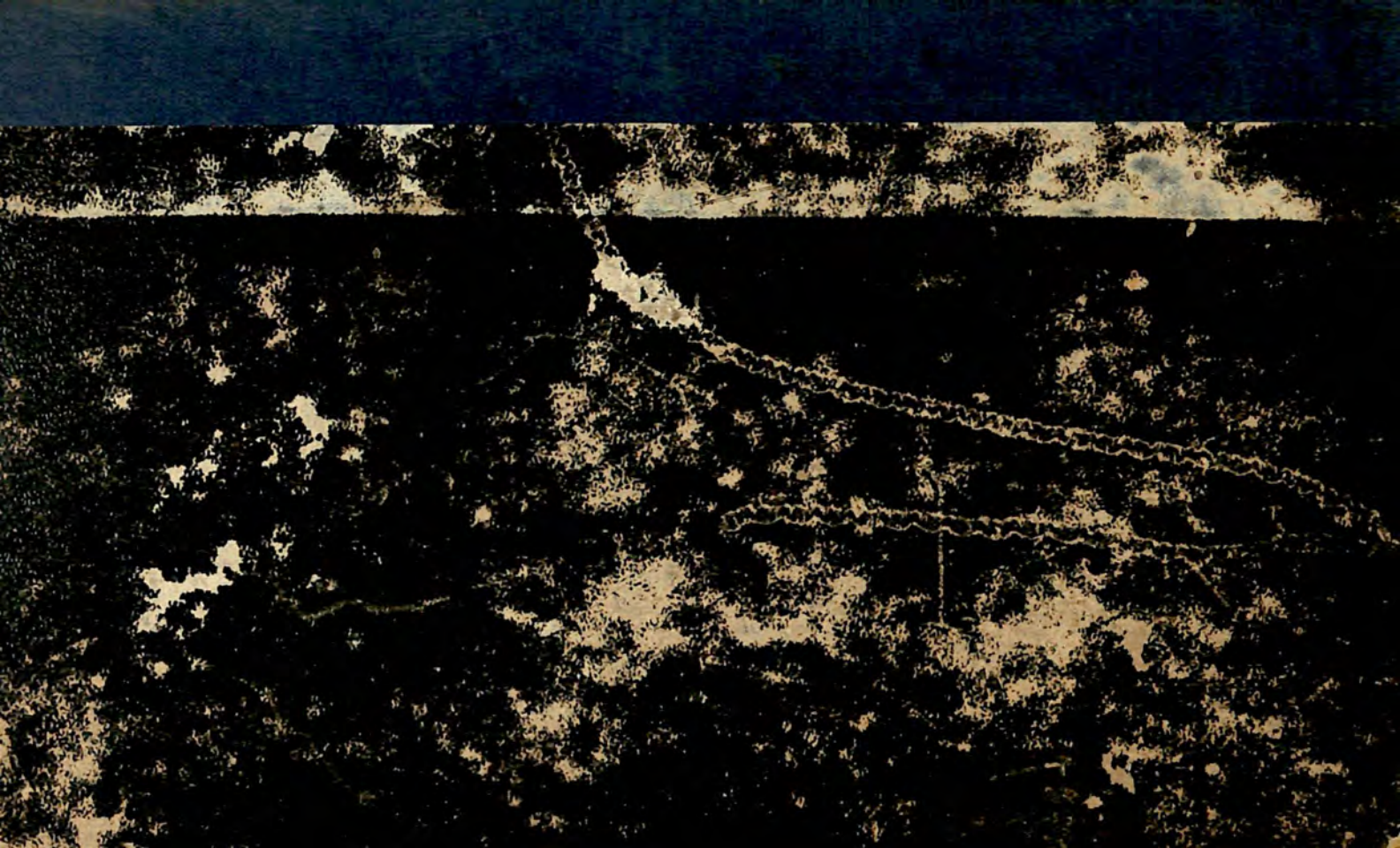
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